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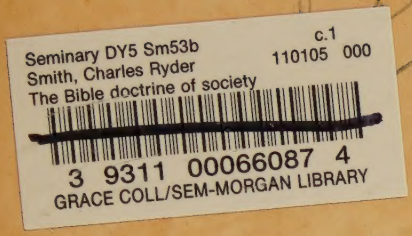
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THE
BIBLE DOCTRINE OF SOCIETY

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF SOCIETY IN ITS HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

BEING A PART OF A THESIS
APPROVED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF DIVINITY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

BY

CHARLES RYDER SMITH, B.A., D.D.

WESLEYAN METHODIST MINISTER

EDINBURGH
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET
1920

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TO

MY WIFE

IN MEMORY OF

OCTOBER 11, 1899

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INTRODUCTION

THE history of the Bible falls easily into five principal periods—the age of the Patriarchs, the centuries from Moses to Samuel, the Monarchy, the Exile and post-Exilic epoch, the era of Jesus and the Apostles. Each of these is treated below as a whole. The length of the second, third, and fourth periods is no objection to this, for change proceeded very slowly in early history, and the study of each epoch shows it to be naturally one. At the same time this fivefold division must not be pressed artificially. History, like nature, refuses isolation. The characteristic qualities of one period have their roots in its predecessor; again, they continue, if only to decay, in its successor. The division of a people's history into epochs is convenient but not absolute.

Every treatise about the Bible must face the question of the dating of its Books. Here the conclusions of what may be called the "moderate school of critics"—represented by such books as Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" and Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible"—are accepted. A conspectus of the documents used as authoritative for each Old Testament period is added below.[1] An advantage of the division into five long periods here appears. While not a few questions still agitate even the "moderate school" of Biblical Criticism, most of them relate, not to the period within which given documents fall, but to their place in that period. Such controversies do not affect the present discussion, for, whatever be their upshot, the writings in question belong to an epoch treated here as a single whole. Apart from some Psalms and the short Books of Ruth, Joel, Obadiah, and a section of "Zechariah" (chs. ix.-xi.), moderate critics hold an almost unanimous opinion about the period within which the various books

[1] See p. xvii.

of the Old Testament were written. Apart from the Second Epistle of Peter, similar unanimity dates the New Testament books within seventy years of the death of Jesus. Excepting Ruth, the small books named are rarely quoted. The reasons for the larger use of Ruth are given in the proper place.[1] Quotations are usually given from the English Revised Version, but sometimes its margin is preferred to its text, and occasionally a translation is used that is more literal than either. The form "Jehovah" is current English for "Jahveh," just as "Solomon" for "Shelomoh" or "James" for "Iakobos," and therefore, in spite of its abnormal origin, it has been retained. It is used broadly as the "proper name" of Israel's God, and not exclusively of "Jahvist" documents. Where discussions of Hebrew terminology occur, they are based on the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon of Brown, Driver and Briggs.

The documents used for the three last periods have the unique value of contemporary witnesses. Those available for the first two periods lack this advantage, for their writers describe the story of times earlier than their own. The exceptions to this—such as the Song of Deborah—are too fragmentary to affect its general truth. How far does these documents' late date impair their value?

For the earliest epoch the "authorities" are the narratives of the "Jahvist" and "Elohist" in the Book of Genesis. Their stories may not have been reduced to writing till the Ninth Century before Christ, but in an oral form they are almost certainly of much earlier date. The chief controversy about them relates to their historicity. Happily this does not affect a study that seeks to trace, not the history of events, but the development of a theory. All agree that the stories of Genesis enshrine the primitive beliefs of Israel and describe its "Early Ideal." Hebrew thought about society began here.

It follows, however, that for the first two periods the method of chronological treatment partly, or even wholly, breaks down. The "Early Ideal" means the ideal current

[1] See pp. 34 f.

in Israel in pre-Davidic times—during the period, that is, that the subsequent chapter also covers. Yet the consequent difficulty is not serious. At all periods, and among all peoples, there tend to be two contemporary theories—the one describing a nation's ideal world, the other what it holds ought to be done "as things are." While the one theory is ideal, the other is immediately practical. These two the first two chapters below describe in turn for early Israel. Only occasionally[1] do the documents used for one illustrate the other.

Some would divide the second and third periods named, not at the founding of the Monarchy, but at the beginnings of written prophecy—with Hosea rather than Samuel. Behind the difference there lies the controversy whether the Israel of the earlier Kings had really advanced much beyond the standard of the neighbouring peoples. The writer thinks that it had already a quite distinctive character, and that the "Jahvist" and "Elohist" documents reflect rather pre-Monarchic times than post-Davidic. The practical issues of the difference, however, are not great. They hardly amount to more than the re-dating of the Second and Third Chapters below, with perhaps the redistribution of some of their Sections. The development traced, whether it belongs to earlier or later times, did take place. It is enough, too, for the second period, that the social ideas of Israel *at its close* be distinguished.

Some, again, may think that in the discussion of the New Testament the doctrine of Jesus and of the Apostles ought to have been treated separately. The writer has taken them together for three reasons. Jesus' social teaching has been elucidated already by several different writers—for instance, by Seeley in "Ecce Homo,"[2] by Dr Garvie in the volume "Christ and Civilisation," by Peabody in his "Jesus Christ and the Social Question." Again, the scheme of this book takes as unit the doctrine of an epoch, and not the doctrine of individual teachers.

[1] *Cf.* p. 16.

[2] Seeley's discussion is unhappy in its name, "Christ's *Legislation*," and it is incomplete, but it is as suggestive of the whole as a torso of a great statue.

Chief of all, the writer holds that, while the isolation of Jesus' teaching is useful for the purposes of study—like the isolation of the eye, for instance, at a given stage in medical education,—it is yet unnatural. It is true that the emphasis of Jesus and of the Apostles was not always the same, yet the theory underlying the whole New Testament teaching is one, not two. Perhaps the discussion below may help a little to sustain this contention.

A treatise about a history of theory omits facts that merely point back to the days before the theory was born. These fall to the archæologist. For instance, an enquiry into the earliest *facts* of Hebrew society would include a discussion of the origin, nature and extent of such primitive customs as "Zadiqua" marriage and "taboo," but, as these were of the things that perished, not of those that remained, they have slight importance for Hebrew *theory*. Similarly the *origin* of the "Herem" is not here discussed. It came to Israel, along with many other customs called "ethnic," as one of the heirlooms of "primitive man." What is important for Biblical social theory is not its obscure origin, but the use that Israel made of it.

Here the reason appears why the Bible itself is naturally the only book authoritative in a history of Biblical theory. The Books of the Canon were slowly selected by the "common consciousness," first of the Hebrew Church and then of the Christian, just because these books embody the history, not only of certain events, but of an ideal. An account of social fact would require chapters, not only upon such survivals as "taboo," but upon the condition of Israel during the slave-sojourn in Egypt and the state of society in the interval between the Old Testament and the New. A history of Bible theory, however, has little to say of either.[1]

To the assumption of the truth of a moderate "Criticism," two others must be added. It will be found below that in the Bible sociology always waits upon theology. In tracing the evolution of the former, therefore, that of the latter has to be assumed. Again, as the theory of

[1] See footnote on p. xvi.

society is naturally a branch of ethics, it is impossible to treat it without some ethical assumption, for a general ethical discussion would be out of place. Any reader conversant with the subject will easily discern the ethical creed assumed below. Broadly speaking, it is evolutionary, idealist, and Christian. The writer believes that there is in ethics a gradual discovery of a distant ideal, and a gradual advance of practice towards it. He thinks that the course of its development is not accidental, but "providential"—and that the ideal itself is "real," both "eternally" in the mind of God, and historically in the life of Jesus. And he holds that ethics is organically imperfect without theism.

Some other brief notes may be added. Many of the social phenomena studied below were by no means peculiar to Israel. When any one seems to the writer to have been distinctively Hebrew, he has explicitly said so. Applications of the principles elucidated to the problems of later ages have usually been avoided. Their name is Legion, yet they are properly, not a part of the Biblical theory, but its sequel, and there is gain in developing it alone. Any readers who wish to reach the New Testament quickly may do so by reading only the first and last Sections in Chapters II., III. and IV. As far as possible, the facts that lie behind the theory have been supported by references to the Bible itself. For those that lie outside its scope, reference has been made to some generally accessible authority. The "leading case" is in the Chapter on "Israel before the Kings." The social theory of this introductory period can in many details best be understood by comparison with the customs of the nomadic tribes from whose midst Israel sprung, and of these the Bible itself has often no record. Two of Robertson Smith's books — his "Religion of the Semites" and "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia"—are here authoritative, and frequent reference has been made to them. The writer will welcome any corrections of the many hundreds of Biblical references.

So far as the author is aware, no other book covers quite the same ground as this one. There is, of course,

no topic named in it that has not been dealt with by some writer in some way, but the place of a systematic account of the Biblical theory of society seems to be vacant. For lack of space, three great subjects—Work, Wealth, Womanhood—are here omitted.[1] Yet, even without them, the book has perhaps a true unity. Particular subjects emerge, especially when the New Testament is examined, that have been treated by themselves in large and able volumes. Here the course followed is to show their place within the general social theory of the Bible, and to elucidate the implications of its references to them, but to leave their full exposition to books that they absorb. At the same time the writer hopes that he has made clear in outline his opinion about them. Where questions emerge that are controversial among Christians, he thought it undesirable either to hide his opinion or to introduce controversy into a non-controversial book. In these instances, therefore, he has stated his own opinion without argument. Happily these subjects are few. Happily, too, Christians are learning to "agree to differ" about them. There seems no reason why the Christian doctrine of society, apart from comparatively unimportant detail, should not become part of the catholic creed of Christendom, for it is implicit in common Christian theology. At least all will agree that the times cry aloud for its statement, preaching, and practice by Christian men. Only so will the Church make new inroad upon the world. This book seeks, in its own degree, to further that great end. I cannot close its Introduction without naming four who have in different ways befriended it—my father, Rev. J. Smith, of Southport; Dr Vernon Bartlet, of Mansfield College; Dr Hastings; and Rev. A. T. Burbridge, B.A., at present of Leicester.

C. RYDER SMITH.

[1] These were included in the University Thesis named on the title-page, An Additional Note on "The Times between the Testaments" is omitted for the same reason. Other omissions and alterations have also been made.

CONSPECTUS OF AUTHORITIES

For the Four Old Testament Epochs

This statement does not distinguish brief paragraphs, unimportant for social theory, that belong to one epoch but occur in the midst of passages that belong to another. For exact lists of these the reader is referred to Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" upon which this conspectus is based. At the same time, no quotation has been wittingly made even from these brief paragraphs, except for their proper period, without the fact being noted. Where Driver does not date a Psalm, Briggs' Commentary in the "International Critical" series has been followed. The early Songs of Israel—*e.g.* in Gen. xlix., Num. xxiii. and xxiv., Deut. xxxiii., Judg. v.—are often of different date from the books that contain them; below they are considered together.[1]

i. *Documents for the Patriarchal Story*

The "Jahvist" and "Elohist" parts of Genesis—viz. Gen. ii. 5-25; iii.; iv.; vi. 1-8; vii.; viii.; ix. 18-28; x.; xi. 1-19; xii.; xiii.; xv.; xvi.; xviii.–xxii.; xxiv.–xxvi.; xxvii. 1-45; xxviii. 10-22; xxix.–xxxv.; xxxvii.–xlv.; xlvi. 1-5, 28-34; xlvii.; xlviii.; l. For Gen. xiv. see pp. 3 f., and for Gen. xlix. p. 84.

ii. *Documents for the pre-Monarchic Period*

The "Jahvist" and "Elohist" parts of Exodus, Numbers and Joshua—viz. Exod. i.–v.; vii. 14-25; viii.–xi.; xii. 21-42; xiii.–xv; xvii.–xxiv.; xxxii.–xxxiv. Num. x. 29-36; xi.–xiv.; xvi. 12-34; xx.–xxiv.; xxv. 1-5; xxxii. Josh. ii.–vii.; viii. 1-29; ix.; x. 1-27; xiv. 6-15; xvi.; xvii.; xxiv.

The earlier parts of Judges and of 1 Samuel, i.–xi.—viz. Judg. i.; ii. 1-10; iii. 1-3; iv.–ix; x. 1-5; xi.–xix.; xxi. 1-4. 1 Sam. i.; ii. 11-26; iii.–vi.; ix.; x. 1-16; xi.

Ruth.[2] Gen. xlix. and Deut. xxxiii.[3] Deut. xxxiv.

iii. *Documents for the Monarchy*

Histories—1 Sam. ii. 1-10, 27-36; vii.; viii.; x. 17-27; xii.–xxxi. (some chapters being later than the main story). 2 Sam. (chap. vii. and perhaps the Songs in xxii. and xxiii.

[1] See pp. 30, 83 f, 85 f, 88 f, 360 f. [2] See pp. 34 f. [3] See p. 84.

being later than the rest). 1 and 2 Kings (the Compiler's parts, *e.g.* 1 Kings viii. 23-61, falling quite at the close of the Monarchy).

The Deuteronomic writings—Deut. i.–xxxii. Josh. i.; viii. 30-35; x. 28-43; xi.; xii.; xiii. 1-12; xxii. 1-8; xxiii. Judg. ii. 11-23; iii. 4-15; x. 6-18.

Prophecies—Hosea, Amos, Micah (except perhaps iv. 11-13). Isaiah i.–x.; xi. 1-9; xiv. 24-32; xv.–xxxiii.; xxxvi.; xxxvii.; xxxviii. 1-8. Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah (except perhaps iii. 14-20). Jeremiah i.–ix.; x. 17-25; xi.–xxxii.; xxxiii. 1-16; xxxiv.–xlix.; li. 59-64. Ezekiel.[1]

Psalms ii., iii., vii., xiii., xviii. (2 Sam. xxii.), xx., xxi., xxiii., xxiv. 7-10, xxvii., xxviii., xxxvi. 1-4, xlv., xlvi., lii., liv.–lvi., lviii., lx.–lxiii., lxxii., lxxvi., xc., xci., ci., cx. Lamentations.

Proverbs i.–ix.; x. 1–xxii. 16; xxii. 17–xxiv. 22; xxv.–xxix.—*i.e.* the chief collections.

iv. *Documents for the Post-Monarchic Period*

The "Code of Holiness" (Lev. xvii.–xxvi.)—possibly Monarchic; if so, this illustrates the "overlapping" of periods.[2]

The "Priestly" documents—Gen. i.; ii. 1-4; v.; vi. 9-22; ix. 1-17; xi. 10-32; xvii.; xxiii.; xxviii. 1-9; xxxvi.; xlvi. 6-27. Exod. vi.; vii. 1-13; xii. 1-20, 43-51; xvi.; xxv.–xxxi.; xxxv.–xl. Lev. i.–xvi.; xxvii. Num. i.–ix; x. 1-28; xv.; xvi. 1-11, 35-50; xvii.–xix.; xxv. 6-18; xxvi.–xxxi.; xxxiii.–xxxvi. Josh. xiii. 15-32; xv.; xviii.–xxi.; xxii. 9-34. Judg. xx. and xxi. 5-14 (of similar type if not "Priestly").

Ezra–Nehemiah. 1 and 2 Chronicles.

Prophecies—Isaiah xl.–lxvi. (whether by one or more authors); xi. 10-16; xii.; xiii.; xiv. 1-23; xxi. 1-10; xxiv.–xxvii.; xxxiv.; xxxv.; xxxviii. 9-20. Jeremiah x. 1-16; xxxiii. 17-26; l.; li. 1-58. Joel. Obadiah (though *vv.* 1-9 are of Monarchic origin). Haggai. Zechariah (three Prophecies). Malachi.

Psalms i., iv.–vi., viii.–xii., xiv.–xvii., xix., xxii., xxiv. 1-6, xxv., xxvi., xxix.–xxxv., xxxvi. 5-12, xxxvii.–xliv., xlvii.–li., liii., lvii., lix., lxiv–lxxi., lxxiii.–lxxv., lxxvii.–lxxxix., xcii.–c, cii.–cix., cxi.–cl. Job. Ecclesiastes. Song of Songs.

Proverbs xxiv. 23-34; xxx; xxxi. Esther. Daniel. Jonah.

[1] See p. 175.

[2] See p. xi.

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF SOCIETY

CHAPTER I

THE PATRIARCHAL STORY: THE EARLY IDEAL

The Isolated Family.—The Beginnings of Social Ethics.—The Background of the Alien Cities.—The Hebrew Point of Departure.

Section A.—The Isolated Family

The Three Perfect Patriarchs

Hebrew history opens with the story of the Patriarchs, and the study of Hebrew social theory, therefore, begins with the social doctrines involved in the narratives of Genesis. For the study of theory it is immaterial that these narratives may not be exact history. For, however widely or slightly the actual history of primitive Israel differed from the first Biblical records, however much or little of myth infects the latter, they still preserve the stories that moulded later Israelite belief. A people's theories begin with its early ideal, and to discover this the student must search, not so much its forgotten facts, as its immemorial tales. For the social doctrine of Israel the primary fact is that the three Patriarchs were this people's ideal men.

The distinctive mark of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is their direct relation to Jehovah, their religion. Their story is just an account of His dealings with them. To this all else is subordinate. Modern study separates subjects. No one to-day, for instance, would introduce religion into a treatise upon economics. Some resent its

association even with ethics. This separation is inevitable and justifiable, for none can study all subjects at once, but it brings its own danger. It is treated sometimes as final and not as the mere consequence of a convenient "differentiation." The Bible, on the contrary, from beginning to end, treats religion as basal to all life, and the first token of this is the fact that Israel thought of its ideal men altogether as religious men. Hebrew sociology from the first depended upon Hebrew religion.

Another fact follows. Not all the stories of Genesis tell of the Early Ideal. Neither Adam nor Noah nor Joseph was held perfect. And even the great Three themselves became perfect, not at birth, but by Covenant. Abraham began to be the ideal man when, under the Covenant, he took the Desert. Isaac became Patriarch long after birth.[1] Jacob was no ideal man until at Bethel the Lord entered into Covenant with him. The one occasion on which the old narrative, in distinction from modern thought, finds that he did wrong,[2] precedes this crisis. The story of his dealings with Laban belongs to a topic omitted here, the study of labour and wages, but there is nowhere in it the suggestion that Jacob was not altogether right. For early Israel Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from the moment of Covenant onwards, were perfect, and their perfection based on their relation to God.

Peace by Isolation

The peculiar social phenomenon of the patriarchal story is the isolation of a family—"Now the Lord said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house"[3] Several results follow for social theory. First, the Israelite ideal was thereby one of peace. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are pictured as isolated and therefore as peaceful nomads. Usually they wander wherever they like between the Euphrates and Egypt, unhindered and, save for their

[1] Gen. xxv. 11. [2] Gen. xxvii. [3] Gen. xii. 1.

families, alone. Until the very end of the story, whenever a Patriarch comes into contact with the alien, God drives him back into isolation. The narratives of Pharaoh and Abimelech's attempts on Sarah,[1] the partly similar incident of the risk of Rebekah,[2] Abraham and Isaac's disputes with the Philistines about the possession of wells,[3] and the rape of Dinah,[4] all illustrate this. In these stories the Patriarchs seem to prefer "peace at any price" to war! It is true that not only Pharaoh but "the inhabitants of the land" are represented as more powerful than they,[5] but early tribes did not usually yield wife or daughter passively even to superior force. Rather, the act of Dinah's brothers, Simeon and Levi, was the one justifiable by the ordinary codes of ethics and honour—"They took each man his sword and came upon the city unawares and slew all the males."[6] Yet in their subsequent altercation with their father "peace with honour" is definitely set against "peace at any price," and, perhaps for the only time in national epics, the ideal man sided with the latter.[7] In every instance but one the issue of threatening strife was peace, and peace by the hand of God;[8] in every instance, too, the result was a renewal of the patriarchal isolation. Imagination could not transfer Joshua's warlike theophany[9] to one of the Patriarchs; the term distinctive of holy war ("herem") is not found in Genesis; that book assumes that it was safe as a rule for a family, and even an individual, to wander alone.[10] The Patriarchs were "sons of peace."

This representation has one principal exception[11]—the story of Abraham's pursuit of the captors of Lot.[12]

[1] Gen. xii. 10 ff., xx. 2 ff.
[2] Gen. xxvi. 7 ff.
[3] Gen. xxi. 22 ff., xxvi. 13 ff.
[4] Gen. xxxiv., xxxv. 5.
[5] *e.g.* Gen. xx. 13.
[6] Gen. xxxiv. 25.
[7] Gen. xxxiv. 30, xlix. 5–7.
[8] *e.g.* Gen. xxxv. 5; the fact is least clear in Gen. xxvi. 6 ff., but even there it may be inferred from *vv.* 2, 12.
[9] Jos. v. 13 ff.
[10] *e.g.* Gen. xxviii. 10 ff., xxxii. 10, xxxvii. 15 ff. Joseph's father and brethren refer his blood-stained coat, not to a robber or foe, but a wild beast (Gen. xxxvii. 20, 31 ff.).
[11] There are besides three isolated texts (Gen. xxii. 17, xxiv. 60, xlviii. 22), and the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix.). The last is discussed later (see pp. 83, 86).
[12] Gen. xiv.

About the date of this story scholarship has strangely vacillated, and its warlike character would naturally link it with a later period in Israelite social theory,[1] but, whatever its date, all students recognise in it an intrusion from an alien source, and even a casual reader feels that it is disconsonant with the rest of Abraham's life. At the least it is true that, when for once he fought, he was not aggressor but deliverer, and his refusal to share the spoil distinguishes his campaign from all others, whether ancient or modern. Even in war his spirit was the spirit of the lover of peace, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews "spiritualised" truly when he borrowed a verse from this story to illustrate the final priesthood of the Prince of Peace—Melchizedek, "king of righteousness," is also "king of peace."[2] Here, too, the story ends with the renewal of isolation.

These instances relate to the Patriarchs' dealings with the alien. Ground for fight was common, too, at home. The strife of Lot's herdsmen with Abraham's,[3] Laban's jealousy of Jacob's wealth and his pursuit of that fugitive,[4] Jacob's meeting with Esau on his return from Haran,[5] are illustrations. Here, too, the issue was always peace—secured always by separation. At the heap Galeed, for instance, God intervened between Laban and Jacob directly to this end.[6] How readily the legends of other nations set their heroes to fight "fearful odds"! Jehovah isolated His chosen to cherish an ideal of peace.

So, too, the Hebrew ideal man was not a captain. More than once the latter emerges in the story, only to be set aside. Ishmael was a typical desert raider, a "wild ass among men,"[7] but Jehovah preferred the quiet Isaac.[8] Esau, again, was a "cunning hunter, a man of the field."[9] This was to say in another way that he was a fighting man, for in the earliest documents the term "field" (שדה)

[1] See pp. 82 ff. Scholarly opinion tends now to allocate Gen. xiv. to the Exile or later, *e.g.* Driver's "Commentary," 3rd edition, p. xvi.

[2] Heb. vii. 2. [3] Gen. xiii. 7 ff. [4] Gen. xxxi.

[5] Gen. xxxii. and xxxiii. [6] Gen. xxxi. 29, 52. [7] Gen. xvi. 2.

[8] Gen. xxi. 20. [9] Gen. xxv. 27.

means, like the Indian word "jungle," those wide stretches of "no man's land" between the sparse settlements that were the haunt of the wild beast and the wild man.[1] As Nimrod, the "mighty hunter," [2] "began to be a warrior" (גבור), so Esau, the "cunning hunter," became easily the fierce captain of four hundred fierce fellows.[3] Over against him there is set the peaceful Jacob, "a perfect man, dwelling in tents." [4] The very term "perfect" condemns Esau in comparison, and the Revisers' margin significantly offers "quiet" and "harmless" as alternative renderings. The two ideals were presented together in the twin brothers, and the Israelite believed that God chose Jacob. How Abraham contrasts with Agamemnon or Æneas, with Arminius or Arthur! The patriarchal ideal was one of peace.

A Manifold Freedom

A second consequence of the isolation of the Patriarchs was a peculiar kind of freedom. It may be defined in two phrases—the ideal man did whatever he chose; he always chose to do the will of his God. The ideal was of freedom under the sway of religion. Again, the notion of liberty itself was a wide one, for it included independence, the absence of law, and prosperity. The first follows directly from isolation, the other two indirectly.[5]

By independence is here meant freedom from external restraint. The call to cross the Syrian Desert [6] set Abraham free from ancestral environment—an essential starting-point, especially for the Eastern, who is usually its slave. Arrived in Canaan, Abraham was freed from the competition of Lot; [7] thereafter, whenever one of the Three Patriarchs was in danger of coercion Jehovah in some way secured his independence. Alike from Egypt, from Gerar, from Philistia, from Shechem,[8] He

[1] *e.g.* Gen. iv. 8; Deut. xxi. 1; 2 Sam. xiv. 6. *Cf.* G. A. Smith, "Jerusalem," vol. i. p. 291.
[2] Gen. x. 8 ff.
[3] Gen. xxxii. 6 ff.
[4] Gen. xxv. 27.
[5] *Cf.* pp. 35, 54.
[6] Gen. xii.
[7] Gen. xiii.
[8] Gen. xii., xv., xxvi., xxxv.

thrust them back into independence. How different the issue of Lot's venture into Sodom! It is indeed true that Jacob suffered the coercion of Esau when he fled to Aram, but this was before he entered into the Covenant; he was not yet fully a Patriarch. After Jehovah's first compact with him at Bethel, his way, like Abraham's and Isaac's, always opened before him. Providence delivered him from the threatened coercion both of Laban and Esau, and brought him into the ideal independence of his fathers in the Promised Land; when at last he risked a sojourn in Egypt, it was on God's express warrant of independence there,[1] and in fact Goshen, though within Egypt, was in some way separate.[2] For the remainder of the patriarchal story—that is to say, for its most characteristic parts—Canaan might have been empty of people, so absolute is the assumption that the Patriarch could go where he liked and do what he would! In a true sense God had already given him the Land.

With this independence of external constraint there went the second ingredient in the complete notion of freedom. The Patriarch was, in the literal sense, a lawless man.

Modern peoples think of law as imposed by society, ancient as imposed by a society's god. Yet the god, as society's head, was a member of it. Under either concept, therefore, law implies coercion by a power within the society. Under law no one is entirely free. The Patriarchs were not under law because there was no need. They did the will of God of choice.

The bent of the whole story shows this. Jehovah is never pictured as coercing, threatening, or punishing the Patriarchs.[3] On the contrary, the crises of the narrative all show Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob as doing God's will of choice. It was so that Abraham at the first ventured the Desert from Haran; herein, too, lay his supreme

[1] Gen. xxxvi. 3 f. [2] Gen. xlvi. 33 f.

[3] Modern preachers make the sorrows of Jacob's old age the consequence of his trickery of Isaac, but the narrative does not hint this. On the contrary, it insists that Providence found a happy issue for him out of the mischiefs of his sons.

"test" when on Moriah he took the knife to "slay his son"; Bethel began God's Covenant with Jacob on the precise terms that he would heartily obey; Peniel was the final test and vindication of this obedience. These men trusted God so utterly as to do His will utterly; so they knew no terrors of His law. He could trust them to be free. Coercion, even by God, was alien to the Hebrew ideal of man.

The third ingredient in freedom was prosperity. By this is meant that the Patriarchs were men in whose lives every desire found full and fit satisfaction. The Stoic thought freedom to lie in the denial of all appetite, however natural, the Hebrew in its satisfaction. Freedom is not complete without the opportunities that prosperity gives. The great Three gave life full play, yet did not sin.[1]

While patriarchal prosperity is here distinguished as one of the three ingredients in freedom, it itself in turn had three elements—home, wealth, leisure.

Each Patriarch is represented as desiring a perfect home. By this was meant primarily a home where a wife bore at least one child. The wife, further, must satisfy the time's standard of womanhood—she must be free. Hagar did not rank with Sarah, neither, therefore, did Ishmael with Isaac. The child, too, must be a boy.

But to possess wife and son did not exhaust the ideal of a patriarchal home. A complete family was "a great household,"[2] and included a series of dependents generically described as "man-servants and maid-servants."[3] These ranged from such an one as Abraham's "servant, the elder of his house, that ruled over all that he had,"[4] through "the servant" that killed a calf for a meal,[5] to those whose task was so lowly that it would never be named in any ancient history. All were the property of the Patriarch. So home, the first element in prosperity

[1] For apparent exceptions see Additional Note 1.

[2] עבדה, a collective for the bond-servants, found only in Gen. xxvi. 14; Job i. 3

[3] *e.g.* Gen. xii. 16, xxiv. 35, xxx. 43.

[4] Gen. xxiv. 2. [5] Gen. xviii. 7.

named above, leads to wealth, the second. Its estimation is shown by the use of the term "goods" [1] for possessions, and by the frequent assertion that the Patriarchs w re rich.[2] Neither the Philistines could baulk Isaac's wealth nor Laban Jacob's. The latter's prosperity was sure from the moment when he was taken into the Covenant at Bethel. It is impossible to imagine a poor Abraham. The ideal man was wealthy. Two statements about Joseph were for Israel one—"The Lord was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man." [3]

The third element in prosperity was leisure. The term must not be misunderstood. Idleness is not meant, nor necessarily ease, but that the Patriarch was never *forced* to work; he had no "tasks"; he was a "gentleman." Sometimes his life was strenuous, as when he crossed a desert—sometimes easeful, as when he settled a while at some fertile spot—but it was ever the life that he himself chose. He counted one kind of "work," the tending of flocks, quite honourable,[4] but he held another kind peculiarly irksome and degrading—he was enough a nomad to despise toil at the soil. This is still a symbol of weary tasks, as the current use of the term "spade-work" shows in one way, and the paintings of Millet in another. The early Hebrew thought of it as the very curse of God. Adam's punishment ran—"Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in toil shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; . . . in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." [5] The ancient nomad abhorred tillage as much as the modern gypsy. When one spot's natural bounty failed a Partiarch's herds, he moved to another. The lists of his possessions rarely name corn or wine or oil,[6] but always herds and flocks. As a shepherd's calling

[1] טוּב (Gen. xxiv. 10, xlv. 23). In Genesis J and E have also רְכוּשׁ ("substance," xv. 14, xxxi. 18), כָּבוֹד ("glory," xxxi. 1), נַחֲלָה ("possession," xxxi. 14), עֹשֶׁר ("riches," xxxi. 16), while P adds חַיִל ("strength," xxxiv. 29).

[2] *e.g.* Gen. xiii. 2, xxvi. 13 f., xxx. 43.

[3] Gen. xxxix. 2.

[4] Gen. xxx. 31 ff., xxxvii. 13 ff.

[5] Gen. iii. 17 ff.

[6] The full phrase "corn and wine and oil" is first found in Deut. vii. 13 (or Joel ii. 19).

was "an abomination unto the Egyptians,"[1] so was a ryot's to a Patriarch.

Yet, as bread was a staple food,[2] a certain amount of tillage was a necessity. Once indeed it is expressly said that "Isaac sowed in that land,"[3] and "wheat harvest" marked a season of the year.[4] Who undertook the hated toil of the tilled field? The "men-servants and maid-servants"—or rather, to better the translation, "the bondmen and bondwomen." The Hebrew word for "bondmen" means primarily "work," and the reason of their bondage was that they might do the tasks unwelcome to the free. Beside the toil of tillage the meaner tasks of the flock and herd fell to them. There is a hint of this in the fact that they are usually named in the lists of the Patriarchs' possessions *after* the animals.[5] The cattle made the bondmen necessary; the herdsmen were the retinue of the herd! The Patriarch himself was never coerced to any unwelcome task.[6]

Patriarchal prosperity, however, in all its parts—home, wealth, leisure—is always presented as the means of life and not as its end. They were but the opportunities of its fullness, the furnishing of its freedom. Abraham was not merely "a family man," still less a man merely of wealth or leisure. He is delineated as greater than his possessions, their master not their slave. Their use was to serve him in doing the will of God, and it was for this that God gave them. Here, too, therefore the basal fact emerges that the ideal man was a religious man. The Patriarch's home was God's gift. It was He who gave Isaac to Abraham's home all but by miracle, He who guided Abraham's servant to a wife for Isaac. Esau and Jacob were born in answer to prayer.[7] The idea that children are God's gift is persistent in the Old Testament. So, too, God gave wealth, as many texts show.[8] And that leisure was thought of as God's blessing is but

[1] Gen. xlvi. 34. [2] *e.g.* Gen. xviii. 5 f. [3] Gen. xxvi. 12.
[4] Gen. xxx. 14. [5] Gen. xii. 16, xx. 14, xxiv. 35, xxx. 43.
[6] For apparent exceptions see Additional Note 1.
[7] Gen. xviii. 14, xxiv. 12 ff., 26, xxv. 21, xxxiii. 5.
[8] *e.g.* Gen. xxiv. 35, xxviii. 20, xli. 25 f., xlviii. 15.

the reverse of the opinion that toil was His curse. Prosperity in all its three parts was of the Lord.

The Family Type of Society

The isolation of the Patriarchs, therefore, gave Israel a social ideal of peace and freedom. From the fact that the isolation was of a *family* there followed two other ideas, the one complementary to peace and the other to freedom. Co-operation and not competition was the primary social relation; responsibility was not to man but to God.

Several recent writers have linked trade with war because in trade each man's aim has usually been to get the better of other men.[1] Here is the sinister side of competition. The isolation of the Patriarchs left the question of the ethics of one man's commerce with another, whether by barter or money, almost entirely on one side. Even Jacob was not fully a Patriarch until his competitive dealings with Esau and Laban were over. There is no instance of buying and selling within the chosen family. In it none served for money wages but all shared in the common wealth. The isolation of a family meant that the ideal man's ideal relation to others was not a trader's but a father's. Whenever the family ceased for a moment to be isolated, competition at once threatened—witness both the failure of Abraham's household to co-operate with Lot's and Laban's bargaining with Jacob—but within the patriarchal home, as within all other true homes, co-operation and not competition was the rule. In the ideal household everyone does his duty, great or small, and everyone's need is supplied, small and great. Abraham was *par excellence* the benevolent father.[2] Neither by war nor by commerce did he seek to get the better of his fellow-man. Co-operation within the family was the complement of peace without.

[1] *e.g.* Peile in his "Bampton Lectures," and Peabody in his "Jesus Christ and the Social Question."

[2] *e.g.* Gen. xxi. 11 ff.

Secondly, patriarchal freedom did not mean escape from responsibility. Sometimes the pressure of modern life imbues the word with this meaning, for many who rightly feel that to be free would be to lose the weight of worry, of anxiety, of care, suppose wrongly that this must be by the losing of responsibility. The patriarchal ideal postulates a responsibility that is not only compatible with freedom but its complement. It was a responsibility for the whole family, for the whole family even to a distant future,[1] ultimately indeed for the whole world of men—" In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed "[2]—but it was a responsibility not to man but to God. To a " man of God "—to one who has His spirit, one whose agreement with Him is complete—this kind of responsibility is by its nature but another name for perfect freedom. Such a man may be presented with equal truth either as one who does all his own will or all his God's.

Two questions now emerge that have more obvious, though not really closer, relation to modern controversy—Was the ancient ideal of Israel " individualist " or " socialist " ? Was it " democratic " or " aristocratic " ? A simple answer is not possible to either question.

It is now usual to say that for Israel Jeremiah and Ezekiel " discovered the individual." This is true in the sense that they first asserted the worth of a single ordinary man,[3] but it is not true, of course, that there were no individuals before Jeremiah. The extraordinary man, the leader, is always an individual. In the story of the Three Patriarchs the society is rather embodied in an individual than the individual lost in a society. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are each of them in turn everything in the narrative, while their companions are only *et cetera*. Indeed, the way of early history is always to embody an epoch rather in an individual than in a society. The one draws the rest after him. This was markedly true

[1] *e.g.* Gen. xii. 1 ff., xxii. 17 f., xxviii. 14.

[2] Gen. xii. 3, and its parallels. It is worth adding that probably the emblem of an early Hebrew family's unity, the thing that was regarded as making it one, was its separate, common worship (Hastings' " Bible Dictionary," i. p. 849 b).

[3] See pp. 111 ff.

of Israel. For instance, Moses, Samuel, Isaiah were each in his day of more moment than the whole of the rest of Israel. And

> " They who serve as models for the mass
> Are singly of more value than they all."

Of course it will be said that the great individual is the product of the epoch that he represents. This also is partly true, but it only illustrates the unreality of the contrast drawn between the individual and the society to which he belongs. Each implies the other and exact history never separates them. Yet it is beyond contradiction that Israel thought of God's earliest revelation as given directly to individuals and through them to a society. The promise was always " To thee and to thy seed."

Again, the answer to the second question, " Was the ancient ideal of Israel aristocratic or democratic ? " might be either " neither " or " both." Undoubtedly the organisation of a family could be represented as a primitive " aristocracy " in the literal sense of the term, yet it is not natural to use the word about it. The significant fact lies elsewhere. In ancient societies, not the individual but the family—with an individual at its head—was the social unit. Before the discovery of the worth of every common man this could not but be so, and even subsequent ages have found it impossible to treat the individual consistently as the unit of society. Did ever democrat propose that babies vote ? Israel in its early centuries consisted of groups of families, as the constant phraseology of Scripture shows,[1] and, the family being the social unit, the patriarchal ideal, inasmuch as it was presented to every family, was " democratic." Had Abraham been a king or a priest, Israel's ideal would have been monarchy or hierarchy, and it had been attainable only by one family or a few, but, as he held no higher rank than head of a house, all families might hope to be like his. So the ideal was possible to all, and admitted

[1] See pp. 34, 70.

the notion of equality. "In thee," ran the promise to Abraham, "shall *all the families* of the earth be blessed."[1]

Summary

It appears then that the ancient epic of Israel's Patriarchs implied an ideal of peace, of freedom, of co-operation, of equality, and of responsibility to God. Again, freedom included the three elements of independence, lawlessness and prosperity, the last of these being in turn resolvable into the possession of home, wealth, and leisure. The narrative, of course, does not name these abstract notions, for primitive races, like children, at once display their ideal and learn its practice through tales. The loving repetition of Israel's patriarchal stories taught the Hebrew generations what a true man's life should be. The influence of such an Early Ideal upon the race that harboured it is only to be understood by comparison. All that the stories of Homer's hero-princes meant for the Greek, all that Gautama's teaching means for the Buddhist, all that the Confucian Analects have meant for the Chinese, or the romances of Arthur for chivalry—that the peculiar ideal of Genesis meant for Israel. And what it meant for Israel it is coming to mean, ennobled and purified by the Christ, for all mankind.

Section B.—The Beginnings of Social Ethics

It will be objected that the findings of the last Section are mainly negative—that it is a poor peace that is secured by isolation, that it is easy to be free when there is none to interfere, that co-operation within a family and responsibility for it are *formulæ* whose content needs definition, and that the absence of commerce does not help to a canon of commercial morality. This criticism raises the question—What is there of positive social doctrine in the patriarchal story?

The primary answer is—That personal relation to God

[1] Gen. xii. 3. *Cf.* p. 16, footnote 1.

which is religion. The patriarchal narrative, almost omitting the ideal relation to men, spends itself on this because Hebrew thought took it for granted that the one would follow from the other. This is *the* postulate of Biblical sociology, and the Book of Genesis, displaying the Patriarchs' religion but almost ignoring their social conduct, is therein true to the genius of the Hebrew race. For it conduct was the child of religion.

Yet the findings of the last Section were not in the upshot of history negative. Although the Patriarchs enjoyed peace and freedom because they had no "neighbours," [1] this did not keep their descendants, who had neighbours, from thinking that peace and freedom were ideal. Again, just because in the patriarchal story commerce left the field to the home, the family relation became later the type for the commercial. Once more, though the standard of family life no doubt left much to be desired from later points of view, yet the root notions of co-operation and responsibility were there and in due time bore their proper fruit. These consequences will appear in later chapters.

It is important, too, that a right idea be reached of the social implications of patriarchal family life. "The members of a Hebrew family or household included some or all of the following: the man, as supreme head of the household; [his mother . . .]; his wives; his concubines; the wives' children; the concubines' children; [children by other women, *e.g.* Jephthah [2]]; daughters-in-law; sons-in-law, for example, Jacob with Laban; [3] other free Israelite relatives [friends or dependants]; [*gerim* or resident foreigners—'the stranger that is within thy gates']; male and female slaves, Israelite and foreign, home-born and purchased." [4] It follows

[1] רֵעַ rarely occurs in Genesis (xi. 3, 7, xv. 10, xxxi. 49, xxxviii. 12, 20, xliii. 33), and never with the translation "neighbour" either in A.V. or R.V.

[2] Judg. xi. 1.

[3] Laban's household, however, never quite assimilated Jacob's (Gen. xxx. 25–xxxi. 21).

[4] Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," i. p. 846 f. (Bennett). The present writer has added the square brackets to indicate those not named in the story of the three patriarchal families.

that the ancient home was larger than the modern, indeed so large as to form a self-sufficient and practically complete society. Its realm of co-operation included man and woman, parent and child, brothers, sisters, master and slave, with all the inter-relation of these. It was therefore neither very narrow nor very simple. The "hireling," however—the servant for money wages—the man who was half dependent and half free—was to seek. In other words, in the typical and embryonic society co-operation sufficed for the whole of life. Here was the seed of universal brotherhood.

Again, it must be remembered that "slave" and even "bondman" convey false impressions. There is no exact English term for the ancient idea, for, as the relation is wanting, so is the word. The "bondman" of the East was one of the family. He "belonged," indeed, to the head of the house, but so did a freeborn wife or child.[1] His place in society is represented by the bondman of "the Arabian Nights," not by the slave of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The Patriarch, his wives, his children, his bond-servants, formed a single family, and all its members shared a sense of something like brotherhood. The patriarchal home was a true society.

The wife and the bondman, again, saved the elementary society from complete exclusiveness, for the Patriarchs' wives came from outside the isolated home, and so did some of their bondmen.[2] Judah's sons by a Canaanite belonged to Israel and Joseph's by an Egyptian became heads of tribes.[3] Aliens, that is, were sometimes, so to speak, assimilated to the family. Far more important, however, for the theory of society were the terms of the Covenant alike with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob—"In thee shall all the families *of the*

[1] The facts in detail belong to the subject of "Labour," and so are omitted here (*vide* the Introduction).

[2] Gen. xvi. 1, xv. 2 marg.

[3] Gen. xxxviii. 2 ff., xli. 50 ff. In the former story Tamar's nationality, in contrast to Shua's, does not appear; in the latter Robertson Smith ("Kinship and Marriage," 1907, p. 131 f.) holds that Ephraim and Manasseh were only Israelite by Jacob's adoption, but this does not invalidate the illustration.

earth be blessed."[1] Here by implication isolation is made the tool of universality. From the first Israel contemplated a world-wide society. So was planted the single seed of mighty harvests. In the story of the patriarchal home there are embryonic hints both of brotherhood and of universality. It was a social cosmos on a small scale.

But what of the normal sphere of social ethics, a man's relation to his neighbours? It is, of course, impossible that any society, even a family, be so fully separated from its past life and its present environment that it have no code of conduct towards them at all. There is implied in Genesis a standard of neighbourly behaviour, and it is further implied that the Patriarchs—at least from the time when each became head of the chosen family—always reached it, and that in some ways this Hebrew code of conduct already surpassed the one current among the surrounding Canaanites.[2] But the code was not distinctive of the Early Ideal; it was not held practicable only by perfect men in a perfect state; it obtained also for the actual daily life of the Israelite in pre-Monarchic times; he found its practice, unlike the practice of the life described in the last Section, completely possible and so immediately binding. Nor was it, like the code of family behaviour, the germ-cell of Hebrew social theory. Its description therefore belongs to the next chapter. The Biblical theory of a perfect society begins, not with a peculiar code of behaviour among neighbours, but with the peculiar relation of a man and his family to God.

[1] Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14. The doubt whether הארץ means "the earth" or "the land" can hardly hold here, for the other terms of one passage (xxviii. 14) are world-wide, and in others (xxii. 18, xxvi. 4) "nations" displaces "families." Surely the early Hebrew did not think that "the nations of *the land*" were to receive a special blessing through Abraham, for the phrase describes the very Canaanites whose fate was extermination (see p. 82).

[2] See p. 79.

Section C.—The Background of the Alien "Cities"

The Nomad and the Settled

There is in Genesis no connected account of anything outside the patriarchal story. Even the narratives of Adam and Noah tell only of an episode or two. Yet the rest of the world is always there. The ideal has its background and in this the chief feature is the "city."

The term is not used, however, in the later sense of a large as over against a small settlement of men, for the distinction between city, town, village, and hamlet, is not primary in Genesis. There a "city" is any *settlement*, large or small, for it was as settled that all alike contrasted with the patriarchal nomadism. The obvious points of contrast are two—the "city" was a fixed abode; it contained more than one family.

Fixity of abode meant a definite difference in manner of life. Nomadic wealth consisted primarily of flocks and herds.[1] The Patriarch was first a shepherd and as little as possible a farmer. The "city"-dweller of those days, on the other hand, was primarily a farmer. He rather kept oxen to plough his fields than ploughed fields to feed his oxen. His cattle and sheep were relatively few in number for, unlike the nomad, he could not lead them on to new pastures when the neighbouring herbage had been cropped. Again, he could only occasionally afford to slay them for food, for he needed to keep alive his few oxen for labour, his few sheep for wool, his few goats for milk. His diet, therefore, was far more nearly vegetarian than the nomad's. Abraham entertained the strange angels "in the field," not only with butter, milk, and fine meal, but with a dressed calf,[2] as an acquaint-

[1] A comparison of two sets of contextual passages will show how intimate was the connexion of nomadism and flocks—with Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3, xviii. 1 (the term "tent"), xx. 1, xxi. 34, xxiv. 67, xxv. 27, xxxiii. 17, xlvi. 1 ff., compare Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 5, xviii. 7 f., xx. 14, xxi. 27 f., xxiv. 10, 35, xxvii. 9, xxx. 43, xxxiii. 17, xlv. 10, xlvi. 32–xlvii. 6.

[2] Gen. xviii. 6, 8.

ance of the writer's, describing his lone life on an American prairie in charge of thousands of sheep, told how, as soon as he descried one of his rare visitors far across the plain, he "killed a mutton" to regale a single guest! Lot, on the other hand, welcoming the same visitors as Abraham to the "city" of Sodom, "feasted" them on "unleavened bread,"[1] while Melchizedek, "king" of a "city," greeted a guest in "city" style, with "bread and wine."[2] So, too, the Egyptians, dwelling in "cities,"[3] held a shepherd in "abomination,"[4] and private property in land, rare in the patriarchal story proper,[5] was usual with them.[6] The nomad was a herdman, the "city"-dweller at this stage a husbandman.

The Un-ideal "City"

The connexion of "cities" with agriculture meant that the "city"-dweller's daily task was the toil at the soil which the Patriarch so loathed as to reckon it the token of the curse of sin.[7] Was the "city" then thought of as the sphere of sin? Precisely so. The story of Cain and Abel first illustrates this. Cain's sacrifice was the husbandman's, Abel's the nomad's, whereupon God preferred the "keeper of sheep" to the "tiller of the ground."[8] In the sequel the first murderer built the first "city."[9] Again, Noah's shame waited upon his drunkenness and that upon his husbandry.[10] Next, while it is hard to discover the exact sin committed in "the land of Shinar," its presumption centred in the building of the "city" of Babel.[11] In the patriarchal story itself the typical "city" is Sodom—"Now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against the Lord exceedingly."[12] In Abraham's strange argument with God to avert its destruction for Lot's sake he faced the possibility that there might not

[1] Gen. xix. 3. [2] Gen. xiv. 18. [3] Gen. xli. 35, xlvii. 21.
[4] Gen. xlvi. 34.
[5] Abraham purchased Machpelah from a "city"-dweller (Gen. xxiii. 10 P)
[6] Gen. xlvii. 20 ff. [7] See p. 8. [8] Gen. iv. 2 ff.
[9] Gen. iv. 17. [10] Gen. ix. 20 ff. [11] Gen. xi. 2 ff.
[12] Gen. xiii. 13.

be within it more than "ten righteous," and then he was too sanguine![1] The desolate Salt Sea spread ever before the Hebrew the doom of sin, and it was the doom of two "cities."

Further, the particular sin that has borrowed its name from Sodom[2] is the contradiction of the family life typical of the Patriarch. Its story seems to palliate even its neighbour of the incest of Lot's daughters.[3] Again, it is assumed that the nomadic family unity could not be maintained in the "city." Lot "went out" of his house to find his sons-in-law, and then not to command but vainly to expostulate with them.[4] Over against the pure and united home of the isolated Patriarch there is set the lust and division of the sinful "city."

Another contrast grows out of this one. The patriarchal society consisting of one family, its natural head was the father, but who governed a "city?" In the patriarchal story every king named as ruling in Canaan is a single "city's" monarch. There are the five kings who rebelled against Chedorlaomer,[5] Melchizedek of Salem,[6] and Abimelech of Gerar.[7] The last is indeed also called "king of the Philistines," and this seems to imply that he ruled beyond Gerar, but even so the "Philistines," if the term be not an anachronism here, were pre-eminently "city"-dwellers, as the stories of Samson, Samuel, and David, all show.[8] Again, the story of Dinah, so far as it belongs to the older sources, implies a king of Shechem.[9]

Here follow other points of contrast with the primitive ideal. First, an Eastern king is always a despot, and so the democratic side of nomadism was lacking.[10] Next, in a "city" there was no such freedom as the Patriarchs enjoyed. Its three elements—independence, lawless-

[1] Gen. xviii. 16 ff. [2] Gen. xix. 5. [3] Gen. xix. 30 ff.
[4] Gen. xix. 14 f. [5] Gen. xiv. 2. [6] Gen. xiv. 18.
[7] Gen. xx. 2, xxvi. 1.
[8] *e.g.* Judg. xvi. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 18, xxvii. 5.
[9] It is the Priestly narrative that uses the vague term "prince of the land" (Gen. xxxiv. 2). In India this primitive kingship of single "cities" is still extant—for instance, in Kathiawar.
[10] See p. 12.

ness, and prosperity[1]—were alike impossible. There is no need to draw this out for the first and second, as kingship implies submission and the imposition of more or less regular law. But prosperity too, in its full sense too, was to seek. For the term, when used of the Early Ideal, was found to imply three things—a perfect home, wealth, leisure[2]—and it has just been seen that the life of "cities" meant encroachment on home and the multiplication of task-work, while in the tiny Canaanite despotisms any save the king were wealthy at his peril. Nor did the sub-division of the limited lands about a "city" allow that many hold such possessions as Abraham's. In all these ways the "city's" failure was the foil of the ideal.

Once more, the "city" stood for war as the Patriarch for peace. It needs no proof that the early king was always a captain. War indeed was his very *raison d'être*.[3] It was for safety that men gathered in a "city," else they had not submitted to its limitations. So in the story of Genesis the five kings of the "cities" of the "plain" were fighting-men, and when Abimelech came to make league with Abraham or Isaac, his companion was "Phicol, the captain of his host."[4] The Priestly narrative reflects early thought when it gives Ishmael in sinister juxtaposition "villages," "encampments," and "princes."[5]

A last point of contrast lies in the use of money. In the patriarchal story there are several indications of a considerably advanced commercial system. For instance, the word that denotes indifferently "silver" and "money" (כסף) occurs in Genesis forty times; the "shekel" was so common a measure of exchange that it could be omitted in stating price[6]; terms like "profit,"

[1] See p. 5. [2] See p. 7.

[3] *Cf.* Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," p. 34 f.

[4] Gen. xxi. 22, 32, xxvi. 26. So Abner ranked next Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 50) and Joab next David (2 Sam. xxiv. 2).

[5] Gen. xxv. 16.

[6] Gen. xx. 16, xxxvii. 28, xlv. 22, where R.V. inserts "pieces" without italics.

"pledge," "surety." "treasure," are found;[1] and whenever a Patriarch wished to make a bargain it is assumed that he possessed money in plenty. The early Hebrew who harboured these stories knew commerce well enough. But the use of money, as distinct from its possession, is always in transactions with aliens and usually with "city"-dwellers. Abimelech gave Abraham "a thousand pieces of silver";[2] Jacob bought his "parcel of ground" at Shechem from "the children of Hamor" for "an hundred Kesitah;"[3] Shechem offered for Dinah "never so much dowry and gift";[4] Joseph was sold to the "Midianites" for "twenty pieces of silver."[5] In the last instance the wandering "merchantmen" appear. Thereafter all commerce named is Egyptian, the leading case being Joseph's brethren's purchase of corn.[6] "Traffick" and money were common in that land of "cities."[7] So, over against the co-operation of the patriarchal family there is to be set the commerce of the alien and the "city."

It is possible, therefore, to contrast two series of terms with each other. Isolation, father, peace, freedom, co-operation, righteousness—these are associated with each other in the ideal; "city," king, war, task-work, commerce, sin—these are associated in its background of contrast.

Section D.—The Hebrew Point of Departure

The social doctrine implied in the story of Israel's early ideal may now be summarised and some of its chief shortcomings named.

The three Patriarchs were fundamentally religious, and their social life based upon their relation to God.

[1] Gen. xxxvii. 26, xxxviii. 17, xliii. 9, 23. Add a measure "Kesitah" of forgotten size (Gen. xxxiii. 19). An earlier nomadic use of animals as *media* of exchange may have left a trace in Gen. xxi. 27 ff., xxxviii. 16 f.

[2] Gen. xx. 16.

[3] Gen. xxxiii. 19.

[4] Gen. xxxiv. 12. P adds leave to "trade" in the land (*v.* 10).

[5] Gen. xxxvii. 28.

[6] Gen. xxxvii. 36, xli. 56, xlii. 2, 25, etc.

[7] Gen. xlii. 34, xlv. 22, xlvii. 14.

Their history is of an isolated family and so admits of a social theory whose leading features are peace and freedom. The latter notion was particularly rich, for it included, not only independence of external control, but within the society incoercive lawlessness, and a prosperity that satisfied every worthy wish. Further, the family ideal required that co-operation, not competition, rule social relations, while under all lay the concept of a willing responsibility to God. Again, so far as the circumstances of the time allowed, and so far as the contrasts are true ones, the story presents a democratic rather than an aristocratic ideal, but emphasises the ideal individual rather than the ideal society.

Further, there was in the organisation of a Patriarch's "great household," even though it contained "bond-servants"—a term in some ways misleading—an elementary practice of brotherhood. Again, it escaped complete exclusiveness—partly through the habit of incorporating wives and "bond-servants" of alien birth, but chiefly through the universal scope of the very Covenant that made Israel Jehovah's.

Behind the patriarchal family the story sets the alien "city." The two are in complete contrast. On the one hand, the Early Ideal associated peace, freedom, co-operation, righteousness, and Jehovah's blessing with an isolated family; on the other, it associated war, despotism, task-work, commerce, sin, and Jehovah's displeasure, with the alien "city."

This association of ideas suggests some of the Ideal's chief shortcomings, for it is plain that on both sides of the contrast the connexion was not logical but "accidental." There is, for instance, a usual but not a necessary connexion between cities and sin. Again, kings may cease to be captains and may even become peace-makers. Once more, commerce and co-operation are not necessarily contradictory. The truly ethical in the social ideal needed to be distinguished from its adventitious complement. This process not logic but history accomplished.

Again, patriarchal isolation left two other questions

almost entirely on one side—those of a man's relation to an alien and to a neighbour. Both are but parts of the larger question of his relation to his fellow-man. About this the heroic story directly said but little ; it was content to give the Hebrew the proper starting-point in a right relation to God. As all other relations depend upon this, they were sure rightly to develop under its norm.

The Early Ideal, therefore, was rather incomplete than mistaken. Its closest approach to mistake is in its treatment of the " city," and this would be a serious defect if the " city " played a prominent part in the story. It lies, however, in the dim background. A family absorbs the foreground, and Biblical sociology developed just by the application of the ethics of the home to other human relations. This application hardly begins in the patriarchal narrative, and therefore the Early Ideal is obviously imperfect, yet its positive teaching has the lasting quality of truth.

CHAPTER II

ISRAEL BEFORE THE KINGS: A DEMOCRACY OF FAMILIES

After the Great Gap.—The Early Hebrew Commonwealth.—The Neighbour or Fellow-Countryman.—The Coming of Law.—The Family Unit.—The Alien: a Conflict of Ideals.—Speech: a Double Morality.—The Pre-Monarchic Position.

Section A.—After the Great Gap

From the Ideal to the Normal

Opinion hesitates about the length of Israel's servile sojourn in Egypt,[1] but, whether long or short, it marked an important change. Before it there lived the perfect men, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; after it the story of the imperfect people began. Before it God was a friend; after it He became a lawgiver. With the majority even of the Chosen People He could no longer be familiar; their sin isolated Him. Henceforward with the story of Israel there marches the story of Israel's sin.

Yet the Bible is not primarily an account of sin but of redemption from it. The Old Testament, characteristically silent about the Egyptian epoch of mere failure, takes up its story's thread again at the beginning of deliverance. After Jacob it had no interest till Moses. Were the present purpose a history of the *facts* of Hebrew society, care and space might be given to the servile period, but, since Hebrew social theory depends on the evolution of Hebrew religion, the story of the doctrine of society still follows the records of the Bible and leaps with them from the Patriarchs to the Exodus.

This great gap marks the passage, not only from the ideal to the sinful, but from the unusual to the normal.

[1] *Cf.* Gen. xv. 13.

It had only been possible to portray the ideal as actual by the isolation of the patriarchal family, and this isolation, even if it were historical, could not last. The one family developed into a nation of many families, and of these none could be alone. Nor can a nation long remain unrelated to other nations. The neighbour and the alien now began to play their full part in Israelite life.

This change of circumstance affected social theory in two ways. First, the Israelite was faced with the problem of the application of an old ideal in a new situation. "How can I and my family be like Abraham and his?"—this practical question more or less consciously faced every worthy Hebrew. Further, side by side with the action of the ideal upon the actual there ran, as always, the reaction of the actual upon the ideal. While changed conditions ask new questions, new problems also develop old theory. The gradual application of the Early Ideal to normal life, and the equally gradual evolution of that Ideal itself under the pressure of normal life, proceeded together.

The Aim of this Chapter

About none of Israel's historic periods is there so much uncertainty as about the era that stretches from Moses to Samuel. Its problems are legion. For the present purpose, however, there are some mitigations of the consequent difficulties. The story of the Exodus, which fills the first part of the period, has no distinctive social teaching, and it is here, therefore, all but left on one side.[1] Again, it is sufficient for the present purpose if the social theory of the Hebrews at the *close* of the pre-Monarchic era can be made out. The question pertinent is not so much "What was the social practice of the ordinary Hebrew in the time of Ehud?" as "How did the worthier kind of Hebrew of the time of Samuel think that he ought to behave?" So a starting-point may be won for the study of the evolution of Hebrew sociological thought in Israel's great Monarchic period.

[1] See Additional Note 2.

The early Hebrew idea of a nation is drawn out in the next Section (B). Perhaps its best short descrption is "a democracy of families." The relation within the nation of one family to another—that is, of neighbours—is important enough for separate discussion (C). Out of this relation there grew in turn the use of law, a very important phenomenon for the theory of society. Its general significance and the idiosyncrasy of Hebrew law are next examined (D). Some social consequences of the integration of society, not by individuals, but by families, are then distinguished (E). Next, as in this period, in contrast with the patriarchal, the problem of the alien could not be ignored, the progress made towards its solution is defined (F). A short Section (G) follows about the doctrine of speech.

Section B.—The Early Hebrew Commonwealth

Unity by Religion

The Biblical documents for the period from Moses to Samuel treat Israel as a single whole. For them, while she is twelve tribes, she is one nation. Some modern scholars, on the other hand, deny her unity. For them the tribe, or group of tribes, is the effective unit. They do not allow that before the Monarchy there was a "nation" Israel at all. In particular, they separate "Judah" from the other Hebrews, and deny her the name "Israel" till the days of the Kings.

Happily the difference between the documents and the critics does not greatly affect social theory, for on both sides it is allowed that by the time of Samuel the twelve tribes had such a sense of unity as drew them together against the Ammonite and the Philistine. They shared the name "Hebrew." A Northerner Saul and a Southerner David in turn ruled all Israel, with all Israel's consent. The same prophet anointed both. There was a consciousness, however dim, that the tribes were all of

one stock, and, at last, this drew them into a single state. So much all admit.

Again, the word "nation" is ambiguous. To-day it tends to mean a people that share a common government, but this is not its only meaning. For instance, the early Greeks and the Mediæval Italians were one nation, though their governments were many. Seeley has shown that among early tribes there may be a true bond of nationality, even when the several tribes do not keep together, and even though they do not share a common name! He instances the early Germans, the early Greeks, and the early Arabs.[1] So that, even if Judah did not yet call herself Israelite, she may still have felt herself in some way one with the other Hebrews. Here the difficult question emerges—What then does make a nation? Some of the chief links may be named—a common language, a common country, a common government, common blood, a common religion. All these are but tokens of a common spirit, but a spirit can only be known by its tokens. And sometimes one, sometimes another of them has been principal. Israel used one speech, but she shared it with the Moabite and the Canaanite. At length she settled in a single land, but her unity has more than once survived its loss. She has only intermittently enjoyed a common government. While her tribes were in the main of common blood, a "mixed multitude"[2] came up with her out of Egypt, and at the Conquest of Canaan the Gibeonites united with her,[3] while modern study adds such tribes as the Kenite, the Calebite, and a large leaven of the Canaanites.[4] All these bonds played a part in Israel's unity, but all fell second to another. The old stories tell that Moses began the work of making the Israelites into a people in a particular way. He appealed to their memory of their ancient God—"The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto

[1] Seeley, "Introduction to Political Science," Lecture V. in First Series.
[2] Ex. xii. 38; Num. xi. 4.
[3] Josh. ix. 3 ff.
[4] See pp. 89 ff.

me." [1] The distinctive mark of the Hebrew idea of national unity as compared with to-day's is this—by a nation the Hebrew meant primarily a people who worshipped the same God, a modern means primarily a people under one government. The Moabite might share Israel's tongue, the Edomite his blood, the Canaanite his land, but so long as they had their own gods they remained apart. The Gibeonites, on the other hand, accepted Jehovah and became Israelite.[2] The same was true of the other aliens incorporated in Israel, whether of Canaanite or Bedawin stock, for David's people, of however mixed descent, fought all in the name of the Lord.[3] At various epochs other links have helped to bind Israel's unity, but one tie alone has defied the vicissitude of four millenniums. Israel's religion has been in the literal sense her *religio*, the bond of her national life. The Old Testament is just the story of the People of Jehovah. In it union under a single government is always secondary. The scholars who say that the *political* unity of Israel awaited the Kings, may be right or wrong, but they agree with the documents that before the Monarchy she was one in *religion*. This bond may seem to have been long ineffective, but it was strong enough to last, and finally it drew Israel into a compact whole.

There is a stage in the history of most early tribes when common blood and the worship of one particular god together form their chief bond.[4] At this "henotheistic" stage to change its religion would be as little likely to occur to a tribe as self-destruction. But normally this stage passes. As tribes coalesce by "Synoikismus," they unite their gods in a pantheon, and their common religion, just because of its motley origin, is syncretist and polytheistic.[5] Among those nations of antiquity that reached any considerable degree of civilisation the Hebrew was perhaps the only one that escaped this law.

[1] Ex. iii. 15 ff.; *cf.* Deut. xxxiii. 1, 5. [2] Josh. ix. 23. [3] See pp. 89 ff.

[4] For the Semites *cf.* Robertson Smith, "Religion of Semites," pp. 37, 41 ff., and see 1 Sam. xxvi. 19.

[5] *e.g.* Jevons, "Introduction to History of Religion," chap. xviii.

For example, by the time of the Exodus the religions of Egypt and of Canaan had already succumbed to it. But, whatever influence foreign cults had in different epochs on Israelite ritual, the Hebrews never became polytheists. In spite of many hesitations the cult of Jehovah maintained its henotheistic character and developed in its own distinctively moral way. For religion the outcome was monotheism. It will appear below that for social theory, too, the fact is crucial. By it Israel set the world a model of the true method of unity.

A Free Fatherland

With this fundamental sense of unity there went certain other ideas. The first was liberty. The Hebrew books tell that Jehovah's people slowly responded when in His name Moses summoned it to be free. They go on to say—and here all critics agree with them—that the Hebrews, or at the least the effective part of them,[1] burst into Canaan from the Desert, and it needs no showing that the Desert breeds the passionate love of liberty as naturally as the mountain or the sea. Further, even more than they, it teaches that only unity can secure freedom. "It is only by mutual help, by avoiding intestine quarrels and subordinating individual interests to those of the kin, that, in the hard conditions of desert life, and in a state of constant war with outsiders, a tribe can hope to hold its own."[2] Of course, again, the early tribe marched and fought under its own god.[3] Even if the Hebrews roamed the Desert in several groups, each group would associate its God, its unity, and its freedom.

This was equally so after the irruption into Canaan. The story of the Judges is the story of the Hebrews' fight under Jehovah for liberty. While some of Israel's enemies sought to dispossess her of territory,[4] usually

[1] There may have been Hebrews in Canaan before the invasion described in the Bible—*e.g.* Driver, "Schweich Lecture," pp. 39, 88.

[2] Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," p. 42. [3] *Cf.* Ex. xvii.

[4] The aim of Jephthah's foes seems to have been to drive Israel west of Jordan, but the account confuses Ammon and Moab (Judg. xi. 18, 24).

their aim was to reduce her to servitude. In this the Moabites at the beginning and the Philistines at the end of the period succeeded for a while; the Canaanites, under Sisera, attempted to reverse the Conquest and reduce Israel to servitude; even the Midianite, who came on foray and not to stay, made the Hebrew a serf in his own fields; Saul and David both fought for the liberty of Israel. A commonwealth must be free.

Again, in the Early Ideal the term "freedom" was found to hold a very wide meaning, and particularly to include prosperity. This still went with liberty, and, like it, was the gift of Jehovah. Deborah's Song, for instance, celebrates a deliverance from poverty as well as oppression;[1] the Blessing of Moses[2] finds its whole theme in Jehovah's benediction of wealth, and its climax in a panegyric of Joseph's surfeit of "precious things;[3] the Song beside the Red Sea[4] ends with the exultant hope that the news of the destruction of Pharaoh's army will so terrify the smaller peoples that they will admit Israel unhindered and unharmed into the "mountain of [the Lord's] inheritance."[5]

In the last quotation there is not only wealth but its characteristic definition. At this time prosperity meant for Israel above all else the possession of "the Land" by the gift of God. The story of the whole period from Moses to Samuel tells how Jehovah's people won and kept a country. The extant accounts nowhere suggest that these children of nomads ever thought of permanently resuming the nomadism with the freedom of their fathers. The sojourn in the Desert is always only an episode.[6] Israel set out to be an agricultural and not a nomadic people. Whether or not Canaan would have seemed a "land flowing with milk and honey" to those used to

[1] Judg. v. 6. [2] Deut. xxxiii.

[3] Compare also much of the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix) and of Balaam's Prophecies (Num. xxiv. 5 ff.), though both these and the Blessing of Moses itself may belong to the early Monarchy. Hebrew opinion about prosperity did not change.

[4] Ex. xv. [5] Ex. xv. 17.

[6] *e.g.* Ex. iii. 8, xiii. 5; Num. xx. 5, xxxii. 4.

the fertility of Goshen, to their children, born in the Wilderness, it appeared a Paradise.[1] And, while the "Wars of the Lord," both in the Desert before the Conquest and in Canaan after it, were in the main fights for liberty, the Conquest itself was a struggle for prosperity, for the getting of possessions. Asceticism was not part of Israel's national ideal.

Yet Israel was not destined to be a freebooting people, and already in this epoch Jehovah set a limit to the mere "lust of getting more."[2] The Hebrew "Jihad," unlike that of Islam, was not universal but against the Canaanites alone,[3] and throughout the story it is assumed that to the Canaanites' land Israel had a right.

The grounds of this right may be distinguished. The records do not base it upon the exceeding sin of the Canaanites, as some modern writers have done. There are, indeed, hints that the Canaanite level of morality fell below the Israelite,[4] but there is no stress laid upon this. The right of the Hebrews to Canaan is always grounded upon two beliefs that to them were one—the belief that Canaan was the land of the Patriarchs their fathers, and the belief that it was given them by their God.[5] No doubt in this other early tribes were more or less like them,[6] no doubt the content of the notion was as yet religious rather than distinctively moral, but the idea of a "Jihad" limited by the will of a god will gain moral content if the concept of the god's character grow moral. From the first prosperity by the gift of God was an element in the Hebrew idea of a true commonwealth.

[1] *Cf.* G. A. Smith, "Historical Geography of the Holy Land," p. 85.

[2] Paul's "covetousness" (πλεονεξία).

[3] See pp. 82 ff.

[4] *e.g.* Gen. xv. 16, xx. 11; also Lev. xviii. 24–30, and xx. 23 (H) See pp. 18, 80.

[5] *e.g.* Ex. iii. 8, 17, xii. 25, xiii. 3 ff., xv. 17, xx. 12, xxiii. 23, 28 ff., xxxiii. 1–6; Num. xxxi. 23; Deut. xxxiv. 1 ff.; Josh. ii. 9, iii. 10 ff., 17, v. 14, vi. 2, vii. 7, xvi. 1, xviii. 6, 10; Judg. i. 4, 19, 22, ii. 1, xi. 24. This belief is not necessarily the same as the belief that Jehovah lived in Canaan—a difference important for the comparison of Israelite with other early tribal religions.

[6] *e.g.* Judg. xi. 24; Ruth i. 15.

The Hebrew Village

To reach a complete account, however, of what prosperity meant in early Israel the smaller units of society must be studied as well as the nation. Of these two were effective—the village and the family. For the day of the individual was not yet,[1] and the tribe or clan is of small importance in Hebrew social theory.[2]

The term "village" introduces the social unit distinctive of the Hebrew commonwealth after the settlement in Canaan.[3] It does not occur, of course, of Israel during the Wilderness sojourn, but it creeps into use as soon as there is mention of the acquisition of land.[4] It is the natural unit of society for an agricultural people, and as such it appears throughout the history of Israel from the Conquest to the Exile. What then was the Hebrew village community like?

The translation "village" is here advisedly preferred to "city." It is true[5] that there is only one Hebrew term, and that it could be used indifferently of any permanent settlement, large or small,[6] but to modern ears both "town" and "city" suggest commerce, manufacture, art, and a large population, while for the Israelite settlement of this time a word is wanted that implies agriculture, pasture, and a comparatively small group of families of the inclusive Eastern type.[7] Besides, "city" has already been used for the settlements of the Canaanites,[8] and, though Hebrew uses the same word of them, they contrasted in not a few ways with the Israelite villages as well as with the patriarchal home. "City" does not really suit any Hebrew settlement until David made

[1] See p. 75. [2] See pp. 46, 109.

[3] There is no sufficient evidence of Israel's organisation in the Wilderness. See Additional Notes 2 and 3.

[4] *e.g.* Num. xxi. 25; Josh. xvi. 9, xvii. 11, xviii. 9 (translated "cities").

[5] עיר—see p. 17.

[6] Of Nineveh, for instance (Gen. x. 11 f.), or of the "thirty cities" of the Jairites (Judg. x. 4).

[7] *e.g.* Judg. vi. 27, xix. 15 ff.; Ruth iv. 5 f., 10.

[8] See p. 17.

Jerusalem a capital, and even after that it is only apt to a few of the largest towns.

A village was a self-contained community that lived on the land about it.[1] It consisted roughly of three concentric circles. At the centre was a group of homesteads. These, unlike the farms of an English countryside, clustered together for safety,[2] and were always more or less defended.[3] Round this centre lay the cultivated fields and vineyards ;[4] beyond them stretched the pasture where the herdsmen tended the cattle ;[5] this again slowly lost itself in the mere "field," the haunt of wild beasts. The best mental picture of an Israelite village is gained by thinking of it as a cultivated plot amid a spreading "jungle"—the last word meaning land in a state of nature, whether forest, thicket, moor, or broken hill-side.[6] The population of a village was limited by the area about it that could conveniently be cultivated.[7] Its smallness, its inhabitants' natural and almost inevitable blood-relationship, their mutual defence, their comparative isolation from other men,[8] their neighbourly intercourse day by day, all made its unity real and close.

What was the ideal of social life within such a village ? While the pastures were communal property, every family having the right to feed its beasts there,[9] the tilled land was

[1] *e.g.* Bethlehem (Ruth *passim*), Gibeah (1 Sam. xi. 4 f.), Bethshemesh (1 Sam. vi. 12 f.), Kirjath-Jearim (1 Sam. vi. 21 f.).

[2] A single passage, in the story of the "trek" of Dan (Judg. xviii. 22 ff.), suggests scattered homesteads, but probably here the delay in the gathering of Micah's neighbours was a consequence, not of the distance of their houses, but of their absence at work in the "field." *Cf.* Gen. xxxiv. 5 ; 1 Sam. xi. 5.

[3] *e.g.* Num. xxxii. 16 f. ; Judg. v. 11, xvi. 3 ; 1 Sam. ix. 18. So to "build a city" was to settle a land (*e.g.* Josh. xix. 50 ; Judg. i. 26).

[4] *e.g.* Ex. viii. 13, ix. 31 f., xxii. 5 f., xxiii. 10 ; Ruth *passim* ; Num. xxxii. 16, xvi. 14, xx. 17, xxii. 23 f. ; Judg. ix. 27, xiv. 5, xv. 4 ff., xix. 16, xxi. 20 ; 1 Sam. xi. 4 f.).

[5] Ex. ix. 19, xxii. 13, 31, xxiii. 29 ; Num. xxii. 23 ; Judg. ix. 32, 42.

[6] *Cf.* p. 6. [7] *Cf.* Judg. xi. 2 f.

[8] *e.g.* 1 Sam. vi. 20 f. ; Judg. viii. 5 ff.

[9] "To constitute private property according to the ancient doctrine still preserved in Moslem law, a man must build on the soil or cultivate it ; there is no [private] property in natural pastures" (Robertson Smith, "Religion of Semites," p. 135, *cf. ibid.* p. 94).

divided between the several homesteads; before each family there lay the ideal of Abraham's; the group of heads of houses or "elders" ruled the village according to traditional law; the ideal was a commonwealth of separate, self-supporting, prosperous homes. This statement is summary, but its items find frequent illustration throughout this Chapter.

It is clear that the prosperity of the nation meant that of its villages, and the prosperity of a village that of its families, while the prosperity of all depended upon the possession of "the Land." This was why every family, at least in the ideal, owned a plot.[1] So, just as it is said that Jehovah gave Canaan to the whole people,[2] and that He gave the several Tribes each its share,[3] it is said, too, that He gave each family its "possession."[4] A universal prosperity was still an element in the social ideal.

The Survival of the Family Ideal

The family being not only the smallest social unit for the pre-Monarchic epoch but the unit in the Early Ideal, a question ensues—How far in Israel's first historic period was the patriarchal family a practicable type? How nearly could each family in a Hebrew village hope to attain to the likeness of Abraham's?

The Book of Ruth gives the best answer to this question. Its witness may be accepted as reliable, for other scattered passages bear out its account, and even those who date it late admit that it portrays "the good old times" of Israelite thought. It is here no difficulty that it may be only an ideal picture, for to discover the ideal of the first historic period is the present quest. Further, the customs delineated were not likely to originate at a later stage in social progress, and the changelessness of Eastern village life through the revolutions of States is a proverb.

[1] *e.g.* Ex. xxxiv. 24; Num. xvi. 14; Josh. xix. 49, xxiv. 28; Judg. ii. 6, 9; Ruth iv. 6; Num. xxxiii. 54 (P).

[2] See p. 30.

[3] *e.g.* Josh. xviii. 6, 10; Judg. i. 2, 22.

[4] *e.g.* Ex. xx. 12; Josh. xix. 50.

Each family in a village, as already stated, owned its own piece of land. This bore a particular name (נחלה) which, though its primary meaning was "possession," came also to mean "inheritance."[1] The transition implies that it was unusual for land to be alienated. This is borne out by the earliest collection of Hebrew laws,[2] for, while it is in part a law of land, it does not contemplate its exchange. So, too, though Naomi had been in the Land of Moab ten years, on her return her husband's "possession" was still hers,[3] and, when her straits drove her to sell it, it was the duty of her husband's kinsmen, in order of nearness, to redeem it.[4] The word "Goel," used of the avenger of a kinsman's death, described also the redeemer of his land. With the land, if the dead man were heirless, the Goel ought also to take over his wife[5]—a custom often impracticable, as the Book of Ruth itself admits,[6] but still reckoned ideal. So inseparable in thought were a family and its "inheritance"! While, therefore, the new relation of neighbours made it of course impossible that the whole land be free to any single family as it was to Abraham's, such approximation was made to this as the new conditions allowed—and it was made on the basis of brotherhood, each Israelite accepting a limited "inheritance" and allowing the same to his neighbour. Every family held, at least ideally, that share in land which in early agricultural communities was essential to prosperity.

The fate of two other ingredients in the Early Ideal, lawlessness and peace, is discussed separately.[7] Of the rest some follow at once from the universal possession of land. For instance, it was still the ideal that every Israelite be free—an ideal not impracticable in a community of independent cultivators, apart from their own improvidence or misfortune "by the hand of God." In this universal liberty there is the tap-root of Individualism.

[1] *e.g.* Num. xvi. 14; Josh. xvi. 9, xix. 9; Judg. xxi. 24. For the term's meaning see the Oxford "Hebrew Lexicon," *sub voce.*

[2] Ex. xx.–xxiii.

[3] Ruth i. 4, iv. 3.

[4] Ruth iv. 1 ff.

[5] Ruth iv. 10.

[6] Ruth iv. 5 f.

[7] See pp. 42 ff., 54 ff., 82 ff.

Even when need drove an Israelite to sell his liberty, law came to his rescue, for the first particulars of the earliest extant code decree the periodical emancipation just of this kind of slave.[1] Since the rule applies only to purchased as distinct from "home-born" slaves, and since the number of purchased slaves of Hebrew birth would in early times be quite small, it must not hastily be assumed that this law was not practised. Probably it was rather an early custom that became impracticable as Hebrew society grew more complex.[2]

Again, the ideal still was not only that a family be wealthy, but that the home be complete in wife and children. A second text in Ruth may be quoted to show how closely these were associated with land—said Boaz to the elders and the people of Bethlehem, "Ye are witnesses this day, that I have bought all that was Elimelech's, and all that was Mahlon's and Chilion's, of the hand of Naomi. Moreover, Ruth the Moabitess have I purchased to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance . . . ," and the reply was, "We are witnesses. The Lord make the woman that is come into thine house like unto Rachel and like unto Leah, which two did build the house of Israel: and get thee wealth in Ephrathah, and be famous in Bethlehem."[3]

Again, it is plain that the constitution of the Hebrew village would emphasise co-operation rather than competition as the basis of common life. In war the several households must help each other; in peace it would not lessen a man's own wealth to teach another his skill, for in agriculture none loses by his fellow's gain, nor gains by his fellow's loss. This, of course, ceases to be true

[1] Ex. xxi. 2 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Jer. xxxiv. 8 ff., where, as Driver points out (Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," iv. p. 325, footnote), to "proclaim liberty" is a technical term. Its use without explanation implies an old and well-known procedure (*cf.* Is. lxi. 1; Ezek. xlvi. 17; Lev. xxv. 10). That the much more inconvenient custom of a simultaneous "fallow year" could be observed, appears from a Sabbatic passage in 1 Maccabees (vi. 49, 53), while the probable interpretation of texts in Nehemiah (x. 31) and 4 Maccabees (ii. 8) refers them to the Sabbatic Year's cancellation of debt.

[3] Ruth iv. 9-12 (R.V. marg.). *Cf.* 1 Sam. ii. 20 f.; Deut. xxxiii. 13 ff.; Judg. xii. 14, xviii. 10.

when corn is grown for sale, but at this time the use was for each household to live by the produce of its own land. Competition was exceptional, co-operation the rule.

Another element in the Early Ideal was leisure, in the sense of liberty to do what one chooses. It belongs to the subjects omitted here, but it would be possible to show that the task-work of tillage, though it could not now always be left to the slave, was still hated and that leisure still formed part of the Hebrew notion of a perfect human life. The Hebrews, though in new surroundings, held their old ideal not otiosely. The family had become a nation, the nomadic tent had given way to the agricultural village, but the village—and so ultimately the nation—was a group of families, and before each family there stood the pattern of Abraham's. While there were particulars in which it could not be imitated, on the whole Israel succeeded in the hard task of carrying an ideal through a crisis.

A Society of Equal Families

The pre-Monarchic period, however, made its own characteristic addition to the Hebrew ideal. With the coming of the village the relation of neighbours became regular and universal. While many social problems followed this change, as the various subsequent Sections of this Chapter show, there was one ruling fact—the organisation of the village was democratic. It has been seen that the Hebrew ideal man was of no higher rank than a family's head, and that this left the way open for a certain social theory of equality ;[1] in the period between Moses and Samuel this open way was taken. The early Hebrew commonwealth was a Democracy of Families.

It is not, of course, meant that the equality of families was completely realised, for no kind of equality ever is. Some families through their heads—for the family and its head were one in this period[2]—would gain pre-eminence over others. When Deborah sang her Song there were

[1] See p. 12.

[2] See p. 76.

"leaders," "governors," "nobles," and "princes" in Israel, and the whole Book of Judges is the story of the pre-eminence of a few. No doubt even within a single village the heads of some houses overtopped others, as Boaz or Jesse at Bethlehem, or the thirty bidden to the feast at the "high place" of Ramah.[1] No doubt, also, when the son of a "mighty man of wealth" succeeded to his father's "possession," he often succeeded to his influence as well. These things were as inevitable in the ancient Israelite democracy of families as in the modern American democracy of individuals.

Yet the ideal was not the less democratic. For pre-eminence was not in theory confined to any one family, or to a few, but was open to all.[2] The whole story illustrates this. The characteristic leaders of the epoch were the "judges." None of them inherited the judgeship from his father, and none handed it on to his son. This was not the way in Israel. The crisis that later made a monarchy inevitable was almost anticipated in Gideon's day, yet he refused royalty as un-Israelite.[3] Only those who go quietly behind the documents and reduce Israel to the likeness of other "primitive peoples" make him a king. His son, the semi-Canaanite Abimelech, did indeed clutch an unstable crown,[4] and this on argument of heredity, but he urged the plea with the Canaanites of Shechem and Canaanites were used to kings.[5] Jotham's quaint, democratic parable portrays the Hebrew opinion. In it the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine leave monarchy to the bramble![6] The rulers of Israel from Moses to Samuel owed their pre-eminence, not to their birth, but to their ability, their patriotism, and the choice of God. Like Melchizedek, in respect of rule they were "without father, without mother, without genealogy." This is the more significant because on

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 13, 22; *cf.* Job xxx. 1-8, 12 f.
[2] *Cf.* Num. xi. 29.
[3] Judg. viii. 22.
[4] Judg. ix. 1 ff.
[5] See Additional Note 3.
[6] On the other hand Abimelech's query (Judg. ix. 2) may include a caricature of the Israelite eldership.

other sides genealogy meant all but everything. Israel at this time was no monarchy.

As there was no kingship so there was little of other "office." The only exception was the priest's. The priest or Levite, however—for they do not seem yet to have been distinguished[1]—wielded little or no power. The Levites named, apart from Eli, appear as dependants rather than rulers.[2] Eli himself was hardly more than the custodian of a great shrine. As early Israel was not a monarchy, neither was it a hierarchy. The rule of the "judges," again, was temporary, and, as has been seen, its basis was personal, not hereditary. Besides, in time of peace a "judge" probably had no executive power.[3] Traces of a settled and continuous form of government are only found on descending to the village. The "princes," "rulers," "leaders," and "nobles" of any Tribe,[4] were the principal men from its different villages, for whenever any of them is named—as Boaz, Elkanah, Kish, or a "judge"—it is as belonging to some village. How was a village ruled?

On considering this a noteworthy fact emerges. There are many terms for rulers beside "judge" in the documents of the period, but in their application to Israel all of them are sporadic and occasional except one, "elders"; for other peoples, on the other hand, "elder" is all but unknown, but "king" is normal.[5] Eldership, of course, was not peculiar to Israel among primitive peoples, but of the two races that divided Canaan at this time each had its distinctive form of government—the Canaanites submitted to kings, Israel to "elders." The documents everywhere assume this.

Who then were the "elders"? The heads of the families that formed the village. This is the natural supposition for a village of the Israelite kind; it was consonant with the Early Ideal; and, if there had been any such distinction within a village as that between Patrician

[1] *e.g.* Judg xvii. 7, 10.
[2] Judg. xvii. 10, xviii. 19.
[3] See Additional Note 3.
[4] Judg. v.
[5] The facts named in this paragraph are brought out in Additional Note 3.

and Plebeian at Rome, or that between Casteman and Pariah in India, it would surely have left its trace in the records. In just such instances the *argumentum ex silentio* is really strong. In practice no doubt the influence of one family through its head would wax and another's wane, but in theory there was no distinction. So that, while the number of "elders" would often be small, the spirit of rule was not oligarchic but democratic.[1] The families in a village were theoretically equal. A Hebrew settlement formed the one kind of democracy possible in the ages before Individualism was born.

The early codes of law provide auxiliary proof. All three of them—the Decalogue, the "Book of the Covenant," [2] the "Little Covenant" [3]—assume that Israel was a great group of families under a common law.[4] For them Israel was a Democracy of Families.[5] While within a household they take both autocracy and bondage for granted,[6] they give no hint that any family had any right of pre-eminence over another.[7] The Hebrews at this time were in theory, and largely in fact, a confederation of free, equal, prosperous households. Sometimes for good, sometimes for evil, "every man did that which was right in his own eyes." [8]

The ground of this equality was the doctrine of common descent from the Patriarchs, but it showed itself in practice in the equality of Israelite families before God.[9] To trace this belongs to the history of religion rather than of social theory, but a representative fact may be named—any Israelite might be called of Jehovah to be a "judge," any to be a prophet. As the Lord chose, a Danite like Manoah, a Manassite like Gideon, an Ephraimite like Samuel, might

[1] The terms "elders" and "people" occur interchangeably in Ex. xii. 21, 27, xix. 7 f.

[2] Ex. xxi.–xxiii. [3] Ex. xxxiv. [4] See pp. 54 ff.

[5] *e.g.* Ex. xx. 14, 17, xxi. 2 ff., 15-17, xxxiv. 16, 20, 23 f.

[6] *e.g.* Ex. xxi. 7, 20 f., 32; *cf.* Judg. xi. 34 ff. For the beginnings of their mitigation see pp. 62, 79.

[7] *e.g.* Ex. xxi. 16, 28; Josh. vii. 14, xvii. 2; Judg. xxi. 24 f.

[8] Judg. xvii. 6; *cf.* vi. 28, viii. 22, xxi. 24 f.

[9] Compare the tone of Ex. xv. 2, 16, xix. 4 f., xxiv. 7 ff., xxxii. 13, xxxiii. 16, xxxiv. 9 ff.; Deut. xxxiii. 26 ff.; Josh. v. 8, vii. 16.

any of them talk with Him. There are hints, indeed, that some functions began to be exclusively Levitic, but these are few, faint, and ritualist, while that communion with God which is the gist of religion was open to all. Israel was a "kingdom of priests"[1] unto Jehovah. Its social equality had its root in its religion.

The Hebrew and the Canaanite

In the last Chapter[2] a contrast was pointed between the Early Ideal and the alien "cities," between the isolated patriarchal family and the larger Canaanite community. The Israelite had now lost his isolation and his nomadism; how far had he in other ways conformed to the Canaanites' type and how far were his settlements still a contrast to theirs?

The Hebrew settlements still retained the family ideal and resisted the tendency of city life to disintegrate the comprehensive Eastern home.[3] Again, the analogy of all Eastern despotisms, and especially of Eastern petty princedoms, suggests that, in a Canaanite "city," only the king's minions would be safe from oppression,[4] and that a prosperous man could only escape the royal rapacity by successful sedition. The story of Abimelech's brief rule confirms the suggestion,[5] as well as later Biblical descriptions of kingship.[6] The eldership, on the other hand, by its very nature, secured each family in its freedom and prosperity, for to defend these was every elder's own interest. Again, as will be seen later, this form of rule made as naturally for peace as Canaanite kingship for war —commerce, too, to which the Canaanite was apt, was still alien to Israelite genius—and the Hebrew community still held a higher morality than the Canaanite.[7] As yet

[1] Ex. xix. 6. [2] See p. 17. [3] *Cf.* p. 19.

[4] Compare the presupposition of Moses' protest in Num. xvi. 15 (*cf.* 13) and, though this is later, of Samuel's question in 1 Sam. xii. 3.

[5] Judg. ix. 27 f.

[6] *e.g.* 1 Sam. viii. 10 ff.; 1 Kings xii.; *cf.* pp. 131 ff.

[7] See pp. 43, 75, 85.

only in two ways had the Israelite ideal at all yielded to the new conditions—the Patriarch's roaming liberty over the whole land was impossible, and the hated task-work could no longer be completely shunned. Even here the surrender was not complete, for the new land system secured a degree of true liberty for every family, while task-work, though a "necessary evil," did not oust leisure from the ideal. On the whole, the Hebrew social ideal survived at this time the culture of Canaan. Israel's subsequent failure, at least in part, to maintain this victory, illustrates its greatness.

Section C.—The Fellow-Countryman or Neighbour

The Recognition of Mutual Rights

When the patriarchal isolation passed away, and for one family there were many, the question, "How ought a man to treat his neighbours?" could no longer be left on one side. It raises one of the normal problems of society. How far did Israel's first answer go?

For two reasons the term "fellow-countrymen" is used in the title of this Section alongside "neighbour." In modern use the latter has in theory no racial limitation, but in earlier times there was one code of conduct towards a fellow-countryman and another towards the alien, even though both were literally "neighbours." Behaviour towards the alien is discussed later.[1] Here the subject is the relation of *Israelite* families to each other.

While on this side the definition of "neighbour" as "fellow-countryman" confines its meaning, on another it extends it. The Hebrew did not altogether limit his duties to those of his fellow-countrymen who lived near him—to his fellow-villagers or even his fellow-tribesmen—but recognised a duty to his whole race. The Hebrew term translated "neighbour" (רֵעַ) has no local significance, but means "fellow" in its old sense—one in any relation to another. So "fellow-countryman," both by its limit

[1] See p. 82.

and extent, usually, though not quite always,[1] expresses the ideas of the age better than "neighbour."

The subject naturally opens with the recognition of mutual rights. Of course no society, however small, can exist altogether without this. Dispute imperils unity; violent and continued dispute destroys it; every society lives by the peace of its members. Different societies however achieve this in different degrees. Here the early Hebrew people surpassed its neighbours in two ways—in the extent of peace and in its sanction.

At the time of the inruption of Israel Canaan was split up into a multitude of petty city-states, each under its martial princeling, each ever ready to attack a city weaker than itself.[2] The Philistines, indeed, appear as a League of Cities, but their story emerges only at the end of the period. Israel's earlier and nearer neighbours, the Canaanites, exhibited the principle of the recognition of a neighbour's rights on the smallest possible scale—the only neighbour was a man of the same settlement. Over against these numerous and mutually hostile little states Israel set the ideal of a nation large enough to occupy the whole land and yet be at peace with itself. There were indeed instances of Hebrew civil strife, but they were exceptional. Each of them too, strange to say, illustrated the very unity that it contradicted.[3] Normally Hebrew settlements did not treat each other as actual or even as likely foes.[4]

So far probably contemporary races of nomad origin—Edom, Moab, Ammon—had also come, but with them Israel contrasted in another way. They seem each to have been but one tribe. This was perhaps true also of the Philistines. Israel, on the other hand, was a group of several tribes.[5] Moab and Ammon, according to ancient story,[6] were as nearly related to each other as were many of the tribes of Israel, and might therefore as easily have

[1] See pp. 46 ff.
[2] See Additional Note 3.
[3] See Judg. viii. 1, xii. 1, xx. 1.
[4] *Cf.* Judg. xviii. 7.
[5] Though perhaps not always of twelve or even ten (Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," p. 254).
[6] Gen. xix. 30.

united, but they never did so. In theory the Hebrew tribes were separate yet one.

The ancient story of the Outrage at Gibeah [1] illustrates both these distinctions. The travelling Levite feared to turn aside into a Canaanite city, but expected safety, and indeed hospitality, in an Israelite ; [2] nor did the fact that Gibeah belonged neither to his ancestral nor to his adopted tribe, deter him.[3] Every Israelite might be expected to respect his rights ; every Hebrew was his neighbour.

The Sanction of Internal Peace

Yet there were, of course, states in the more distant world of the Bible that had enlarged the scope of peace more widely than the Hebrews. Beside Egypt or Babylonia Israel was pigmy. These, however, as well as the smaller states, contrasted with it in the other particular—in the sanction of peace. In other nations internal as well as external peace was kept mainly by force. Whether it were the Pharaoh of an empire or the Adonibezek of a single city, a despot ruled every civilised community save Israel. Despotism, indeed, has always been the one form of government in the civilised East—so, alike in the narrative of Ehud, in the history of Xenophon's Ten Thousand, and in the game of chess, the conflict is over when the king is killed. Nor is it by accident that Islam treats God as an almighty sultan. Absolute monarchy, spite its evils, has always been the one Eastern safeguard against mere confusion in the body politic ; the king's sword is the sanction of peace. Even Edom, Moab, and Ammon, fresh like Israel from nomad liberty, soon submitted to kings.[4]

The Hebrews, on the other hand, from the time of Joshua to the time of Samuel refused resolutely the permanent rule of a single head. Only determination to make Israel at all costs like other races can reduce the Biblical tradition of a kingless epoch to a fiction.[5] This people was not one by submission to force.

[1] Judg. xix.–xxi. [2] Judg. xix. 11 ff. [3] Judg. xix. 1.
[4] Num. xx. 14, xxii. 4 ; Judg. xi. 12.
[5] See Additional Note 3.

What sanction then secured its peace? The shortest answer in modern phrase would be "public opinion." There was in Israel's environment one kind of society which, in time of peace, did without a king—the nomadic tribe.[1] In it public opinion sufficed to secure submission to law. "It is quite in harmony with the general spirit of Semitic institutions that authority should exist and be generally recognised without having any force behind it except the pressure of public opinion."[2] It is true that early Israel, like early Rome, obeyed a Dictator in time of war, as the stories of the Judges show,[3] but to secure internal order she long relied upon the method that she had practised in the Desert. She did not abandon every nomadic habit with the Wilderness. This conservatism had its difficulties. Israel was now, not a single camp, but a multitude of scattered villages, and, while public opinion would still usually be irresistible within a single village, it could only be a slow and inefficient instrument when a quarrel befell between two villages or two inhabitants of different villages. The two stories that close the Book of Judges illustrate the consequent peril of confusion. Again, Israel's new agricultural life would ask a hundred questions that old nomadic custom could not answer. Answers were given, and given probably in oracle by Jehovah,[4] but how were such new laws to be enforced? The institution of kingship met both these difficulties. To compel the disobedient was just the purpose of the royal bodyguard,[5] and to decide disputes one of the usual functions of early kingship. The kinglessness of nomadism nowhere—not even in Israel—finally survived the helplessness of the scattered community and the new social problems consequent on agriculture. But why did this

[1] The sheikh's authority contrasted with the king's just in depending directly on public opinion and not on force. Besides, it hardly existed except for war (*cf.* Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," p. 68).

[2] Robertson Smith, "Religion of Semites," p. 60.

[3] That is, for war Israel fell back upon a kind of temporary sheikh (*cf.* Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," p. 68).

[4] *Cf.* Additional Note 3. The first collection of Israelite laws, the Book of the Covenant, contains a body of decisions typical for agriculture.

[5] *Cf.* Judg. xxi. 25, and its parallels.

one race so long resist the change? Surely because in it social wrongs were *comparatively* rare. Even when monarchy came, its primary cause was rather Philistine oppression than Hebrew discord. Israel did not so quickly need a king as its neighbour nations of nomad stock, because it more usually rendered unforced obedience both to its old and its new laws. The national memory held a story of one Samuel to whose righteous rule its people, even at the very end of the pre-Monarchic period, had yielded a willing and uncoerced obedience. A kingless epoch lay in Israel's past; it is probable that in it this people so throughly learnt the love of liberty that Hebrew despotism was never so absolute as is usual in the East; yet with the love of liberty there went the recognition of mutual rights. However wild the pre-Monarchic history of Israel, the nation held together or it had perished, and the sanction of its peace was common consent to the declared will of the Lord.[1] There is here an early anticipation of the final method of social peace.

The Scope of Loyalty

The first mutual right recognised within a community is the right to safety for person and property. Among the first laws, therefore, there is always the prohibition of murder and theft,[2] and among the first duties that of mutual defence. The latter had, of course, been practised in Israel's nomadic days, for it is the very *raison d'être* of a nomadic tribe.[3] Its continued practice in Canaan is illustrated by every muster to meet a foe, and by every village's comradeship in defence.[4] Its simplest Biblical instance is in the story of Micah, where "the men that were in the houses near to Micah's house were gathered together" to rescue his "gods."[5]

This narrative, however, also shows how the old tribal loyalty began to "differentiate" into two distinct qualities.

[1] See p. 50.
[2] *e.g.* Ex. xxi. 12, xxii. 1 ff.
[3] *e.g.* Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," pp. 41 f., 73.
[4] *e.g.* 1 Sam. xi.
[5] Judg. xviii. 22.

No doubt, as in the days of nomadism, the ostensible ground of the duty of mutual defence was still the claim of common blood, but the phraseology of the text just quoted shows how easily, when a clan has settled in the scattered villages of agricultural life, the obligation began to be based as well on neighbourhood as on kinship.[1] Micah had not time to summon all Ephraim, even if all Ephraim would have mustered to avenge the theft of his "gods," but he could rally his "neighbours," in the term's narrower sense. Probably, too, upon the settlement in Canaan Hebrew "sojourners"—the members of one Tribe who dwelt in the land of another[2]—would gradually multiply; under agriculture their connexion with their distant relatives would become loose and that with their neighbours close; and inter-marriage would follow. Even the "gēr," or "sojourner" of an alien race, had his rights as a neighbour.[3] In one way, therefore, the old tribal loyalty would narrow—duty to a fellow-tribesman shrinking into duty to a neighbour. This would be so especially when, as in the story of Micah, not life but only possessions were in danger.

But the ancient tribal loyalty also ennobled into patriotism. Patriotism proper, the sacrifice of self to nation, is hardly possible in the primitive clash of sept with sept, for there individual and common safety are one. When a man perishes or survives with his tribe, loyalty and self-defence coincide.[4] So long as Israel was nomadic, this older kind of loyalty held together not only the several Tribes, but groups of Tribes, and perhaps all Israel, but after the settlement in Canaan the interests of a man, a village, or a Tribe, might conflict with the nation's. Deborah's diatribe shows this. Why should Reuben march to the relief of faraway Naphtali? It would take Sisera a long time to fight his way to her water-courses! In another way, too, the temptation to "abide in quietness" would be

[1] *Cf.* Fenton's "Early Hebrew Life," §§ 17, 19.
[2] Judg. xix. 1, 6.
[3] See pp. 90, 93.
[4] So Macaulay of an early Roman patriot—

"He saw on Palatinus
The white porch of his home."

felt by many in the days when some alien race oppressed Israel. Why should Ehud adventure his life more than another? So Gideon's temptation was to wait like his fellows till somehow the Midianite terror were spent. The nomad *must* fight for himself and his people; the villager, at least sometimes, had the option to refrain.

Again, even among those who preferred fight—a large class in stirring times—there would be two kinds of men. The first kings were often adventurers, men who won the safety of their people for their own gain. The Book of Judges gives the type in Abimelech. Jephthah in the days of his freebooting promised to become such another. But over against the adventurer this Book very definitely sets the "judge." Neither Ehud nor Barak, Gideon nor Deborah, Jephthah nor Samuel nor even Samson, is represented as a mere adventurer—all are patriots. Abimelech, in the true Eastern manner, slew his seventy brethren when he clutched his crown, but the Book of Judges makes the act unique—a sin that hunted him to death.[1] Is this representation mistaken? Were all the "judges" no more than repetitions of the Canaanite kings? Was it ever but Abimelech over again? The subsequent story of Israel requires its early patriots just as that of Rome demands Cincinnatus and Brutus. This era produced, indeed, the man who stayed safely at home in the hour of his distant brother's peril, and the adventurer who sought his own aggrandisement in his people's danger, but it also produced the patriot who ventured his all for his race. A man's safety being now sometimes distinguishable from his fellow-countrymen's, the Hebrew began to learn and to practise responsibility for the latter as distinct from the former. There were those who answered the Lord's challenge, "Go . . . and save Israel." [2]

Responsibility for a Neighbour's Livelihood

But peace has its duties as well as war, and to responsibility for a countryman's safety the morality of the time

[1] Judg. ix. 56. [2] Judg. vi. 14.

added two other responsibilities. The first of these was responsibility for his livelihood and liberty. There was already recognised a duty to the poor.

To discuss this belongs to the reserved subjects of property and toil, and only a summary statement is possible here. But the first Hebrew law-book [1] has scattered rules for the mitigation of the rigour of poverty, and enacts that no Israelite whom want drove to sell himself and his family, should be permanently enslaved. And, side by side with these requirements of mere law, the Book of Ruth displays the ideal way of an early Hebrew yeoman with the poor. Boaz was bountiful to Ruth before he knew that she was of his own family. And, alike in law-book and idyll, a close scrutiny will show that the motive of humanitarianism was religion. The word that Boaz spoke of Ruth was true of all the poor in Israel—"the wings of the Lord" were their "refuge." [2]

Responsibility for a Standard of Conduct

But again, every true society has its *mores*, or characteristic code of conduct,[3] and expects that each member reach a given standard of behaviour. If the standard alter, the character of the society changes with it. It is the duty of each member, therefore, more or less clearly stated and recognised, to maintain the standard, not only in himself, but in others. This duty is most clearly recognised in a family. In a larger society its fulfilment is credited to "public spirit," but it is better to enlarge the content of the old word "patriotism" and to include in it not only readiness to die to save a fatherland from its foes, but the willingness to help a needy fellow-countryman just described, and the practical admission that it is a man's duty to maintain the national standard of behaviour.[4] The last practice, unlike the other two, will

[1] Ex. xxi.–xxiii. [2] Ruth ii. 12. [3] *Cf.* pp. 13 f.

[4] A friend of the writer's who spent some years in West Africa came once to a town in the Hinterland where the only white man was the young representative of British rule. Said he, "I should desperately like to have a fling sometimes, but, you know, I can't—I represent England here."

often bring the patriot, not the blessing, but the blame of his neighbours, yet it is not therefore the less an element in the complete idea. Every people has three kinds of citizens—the best, since *noblesse oblige*, keep the code of conduct of choice ; the worst need the coercions of formal and informal laws ; the mass, being neither best nor worst, passively obey "public opinion." The national character will rise or sink as the best or worst mould this opinion and prevail with the mass. When a nation's citizens altogether fail to maintain its proper morality, it decays and dies. Rome perished at last of this disease.

It is the absolute rule of a nomadic tribe that every tribesman practise its *mores*. Indeed, as its customs hardly alter, to observe them is his "instinct." When a nation becomes agricultural, however, its customs inevitably change and multiply. At the same time they become distinguishable from its laws, and they are the harder of the two to enforce. Here too, therefore, the settlement in Canaan tested the nationality of Israel. How far did the Hebrews, on their abandonment of nomadism, secure the common observance of the national standard of behaviour ? Did they admit responsibility, not only for a fellow-countryman's safety and livelihood, but also for his *mores* ? This question is not easy to answer for any ancient people, as early histories rarely or never give it direct attention, but there are some hints of an answer in the Israelite records.

First, an *argumentum ex silentio* may be used for what it is worth. The oldest documents, in their account of the Wilderness' sojourn, represent Moses as in frequent quarrel with "the people"—and the latter as always in the wrong.[1] But, while later redactors, when they gave the Book of Judges and the early part of First Samuel a "Deuteronomic framework," carefully added the detail of "the people's" disobedience to Jehovah,[2] here the

[1] *e.g.* Ex. v. 20, xi. 14 ff., xvii. 3 ff., xxxii. 1 ff., 21 f. ; Num. xi. 1 ff., xiv. 8 ff., xx. 3, xxi. 5, xxv. 1. *Cf.* Additional Note 2.

[2] *e.g.* Judg. ii. 11-23 ; 1 Sam. viii.

older records never suggest it.[1] Does this mean that Moses succeeded in his task, that Joshua led into Canaan a people prone to do the will of Jehovah as then conceived, and that in the time of the Judges the people generally observed the recognised code of conduct? What the standard was is of course a separate question.[2] The fact that Israel at this time did not succumb to kingship supports the suggestion, for a part of the duty of an early king was to punish flagrant breaches, not only of set law, but of custom. To this apparently the Hebrew "elders," with "public opinion" behind them, were still usually equal.[3]

The evidence, however, is not altogether negative. The story of the Wilderness in its present form represents the opinion of pre-Monarchic Israel, and in it a loyal minority is twice praised for winning a victory for Moses—on the idolatry of the golden calf the Tribe of Levi rallied to his help, and on the "iniquity of Peor" the "judges of Israel."[4] As idolatry in those days always carried with it sacred whoredom, the first peril probably, as the second certainly, threatened morality as well as religion. Both victories illustrate the value of the "public spirit," the true patriotism, of a determined minority. A few recognised their responsibility for their nation's *mores*. The people that cherished these stories surely admitted the duty.

Three other stories suggest that the whole people, or at least its great majority, gave a recognised standard its active support. The execration of Achan was the deed of "all Israel";[5] upon the outrage at Gibeah the wronged Levite appealed to the whole nation and not in vain;[6] "all this people" protested against the custom of sacred whoredom in Levi's sons.[7] The last two episodes involve

[1] Though there are of course individuals in the wrong (*e.g.* Josh. vii. 1 ff.; Judg. xvi. 4 ff.; 1 Sam. ii. 22 ff.), as also in the earlier story (Ex. xxxii. 21 f.; Num. xii. 1, xvi. 1).

[2] For this see the subsequent Sections of this Chapter.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 29, 45.

[4] Ex. xxxii. 26 ff.; Num. xxv. 5.

[5] Josh. vii. 25

[6] Judg. xix. 29 f.

[7] This is probably the meaning of 1 Sam ii. 22 ff.

morality as well as religion. There are to be added the institutions of the " judge "-ship and the eldership. Those who filled these offices thereby undertook to declare and maintain Israel's customary code of conduct. It appears therefore that, though sin against the current standard of ethics was no doubt frequent, yet the Hebrew race did not entirely lose the consciousness that it had a standard, nor did the practice of the corresponding duty cease. Israelite patriotism, admitting the duties of mutual defence and of the succouring a neighbour's need, added to them a sense of responsibility for his *mores*. Already the nation, securing the rights of its citizens, claimed in return the practice of a national code of conduct. For a new-born people to preserve its code, particularly when it is in constant contact with other races whose codes differ from its own, is a rare achievement, but it is necessary to true nationality. Failure here is oftener fatal to nations than defeat in war. Israel survives still because at least a " remnant " of her people has always practised a complete patriotism.

The Peerless Patriot of Early Israel

It is impossible to pass from this subject without recalling the perfect patriot of Israel's earliest days. According to Hebrew tradition, a single man, Moses, made Israel a nation. Whether he be altogether an ideal figure lies here beside the mark; historic or mythical, he embodies the wide patriotism just delineated. For his brethren's safety and right he forfeited a prince's all; to win them liberty he thrust them upon the hard nurture of the Wilderness; there he gave them law; to win them prosperity he led them patiently towards a land of plenty; for " forty years " his sense of responsibility for them sustained him against their thanklessness to their own weal; for them he was ready to perish,[1] with them to share his own pre-eminence.[2] Before the pattern of Moses' stainless patriotism that of the " judges " ceases

[1] Ex. xxxii. 32. [2] Num. xi. 29.

to puzzle. Whether he made Israel or Israel made him, his story pictures perfectly the complete patriotism of early Hebrew thought. In him there was displayed once for all the large and manifold scope of a true man's love for his own people.

A Right Beginning

It will be seen that the early Hebrew thought of a neighbour as of a brother, though not completely so. After three millenniums this is still an unrealised ideal; its practice will perhaps be the last achievement of Christianity. Again, while a degree of duty to one's neighbour or fellow-countryman was admitted, the bondman within the family and the alien without it were in the main excluded from its scope, though—as will presently appear [1]—these barriers already were beginning slowly to give way. Once more, the more difficult problems of social duty, those consequent upon the complexity of commercial and city life, did not arise in the simple Hebrew village, but awaited the next period. It was well, however, that before these questions became urgent the principle of brotherhood was already rooted in the better thought of Israel—else rightly to answer them had hardly been possible. A single text well illustrates this preparation of temper—"If thou meet thine *enemy's* ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see the ass of him that *hateth* thee lying under his burden, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him." [2] Another may be added to show the ground of such a command—"A God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth." [3] Of such seed the later doctrine of the universal "love of my neighbour" was the sure fruit.

[1] See pp. 62, 89.
[2] Ex. xxiii. 4 f.
[3] Ex. xxxiv. 6; *cf.* Num. xiv. 18; Deut. xxxiii. 3, 27.

Section D.—The Coming of Law

The Uses of Ancient Law

Law makes its appearance at this time in the Bible. It arises from the relation of neighbours, for it limits one man's freedom in behalf of the rights of others. Only absolute isolation can dispense with it. Israel must have had law of some kind even in the Wilderness.[1]

Among early peoples law fulfilled three functions—education, arbitration, coercion. In later times it has lost the first office, but to educate was a prime purpose of ancient law. The Hebrew word for it means "direction." A man who wants to do right must first learn what is right. Next, law is arbitration reduced to rule. The acceptance of arbitration means that two disputants both want to do right but cannot agree what is right. In Bible lands the "kadi" is still chiefly an arbitrator.[2] In early Israel men would bring their detailed disputes to a "man of God" at a shrine, as to a trusted neutral, and his decisions, given no doubt in accordance with the ancient precedents of which it was the custodian, would rank as "toroth" or "laws."[3] The "Book of the Covenant,"[4] is a collection of such decisions. It is curious that to-day "arbitration" has reappeared, apart from law, in the settlement of international questions and "labour disputes." But, thirdly, law uses ordered coercion. When a man knows what is right but will not do it, law seeks to make him do it.

An important fact emerges here. In all three of its operations law refers to imperfect men—imperfect either through ignorance or ill-will.

Israel's law is traced in the Bible explicitly to Israel's imperfection. At its inception the Lord declared through Moses—"Now therefore, *if* ye will obey My voice indeed,

[1] *Cf.* p. 29.

[2] Not a few popular Arab stories tell how once upon a time some clever "kadi" solved a knotty question.

[3] *Cf.* Ex. xviii. 13-26.

[4] Ex. xxi.–xxiii.

and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me from among all the peoples."[1] There is no such "if" in God's dealings with the three perfect Patriarchs.[2] In this story, too, the word "sin" is used significantly—"And Moses said unto the people, Fear not; for God is come to prove you, and that His fear may be before you, that ye *sin* not."[3] The word, though not uncommon in Genesis, is never used of Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob.[4] Henceforward the record is a mixture of law and sin. Here therefore begin also "the terrors of the Lord."[5] The Patriarchs had been naïvely fearless of God, but now Israel walked its way "as ever in its great Taskmaster's eye." Law at once punished and educated a sinful race.

The fact that law, whether viewed from its social or its religious side, marks imperfection, justifies its limitation of liberty. "Lawlessness" was an element in patriarchal freedom, because perfect men may be trusted to do all that they like, but the liberty of imperfect men must be so limited that they do not too much wrong their neighbour or their God.

Law Embodies a Standard of Conduct

Yet the chief use of Hebrew law, even when under the Monarchy its coercive side further developed, was always educational. To the very end in Israelite opinion law was the enunciation of Jehovah's will, and every true Israelite, having learnt it, would consent to do it. The early Hebrew codes, therefore, are a chief guide to the contemporary standard of conduct. They help to show what kind of citizen a true Hebrew tried to be.

The Hebrew Codes

There are three extant codes of early Hebrew law—the Decalogue, the "Book of the Covenant,"[6] the "little

[1] Ex. xix. 5 f.
[2] In Gen. xxviii. 20 the "if" is on Jacob's side!
[3] Ex. xx. 20; *cf.* xxxiii. 3, xxxiv. 9.
[4] Gen. xxxi. 39 (*cf.* 36), xliii. 9, xliv. 32, are beside the mark here.
[5] Ex. xix. 18 ff.; *cf.* Gen. iii. 8.
[6] Ex. xx. 20–xxiii. 33.

Covenant."[1] Of these the last is mainly ceremonial, or in the narrow sense "religious," and has little to teach about social theory. The other two contrast with each other, the Ten Words approximating to a simple statement of principles, the "Book of the Covenant" adjudicating particular "cases." As the date of the Decalogue is disputed, its meaning for social theory is discussed separately;[2] here the "Book of the Covenant" is used to illustrate the sociological idiosyncrasy of Hebrew law. The later codes, "Deuteronomic" and "Priestly," also exhibit this, but it was clearly marked before them.

Among all codes of law, and especially among early ones, there are of course certain points of likeness, but at the same time they differ in their emphasis and tendency. This does not usually mean that some codes altogether omit what others include, but that they apply the same principles in different proportion—as all faces alike have eyes, nose, mouth, yet each has none the less its own character. Hebrew legislation had three distinctive traits —it maintained the living connexion of law with religion, it successfully retained the principle of equity, its bent was pre-eminently humanitarian. The latest of Old Testament codes, the "Priestly" or Levitical, is, like the "little Covenant," a partial exception if the "Law of Holiness" be separated from it.

The three qualities named may best be made clear by comparison, not with a modern code, but with another ancient one, and the most convenient for the purpose is the Code of Hammurabi.[3] The comparison here made has to do, of course, not with literary or historical connexion, but with the implied doctrines of society.

"*The Law of the Lord*"

In accordance with Hebrew genius, the "Book of the Covenant" maintains the living connexion of law with religion.

[1] Ex. xxxiv. 10-26.

[2] See pp. 64 ff.

[3] Quotations are from the translation by Johns (Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," v.).

Probably all early law was religious. Or, more exactly, law and religion alike were at first implicated in tribal custom, and only later "differentiated" from it and from each other. The codes of Hammurabi and of Israel both illustrate this connexion. Both, for instance, have a prologue and epilogue of a religious kind; both recognise in doubtful cases an appeal to a Divine decision;[1] both punish sorcery with death;[2] both presuppose their peoples' religious institutions.[3] But, generally, law loses its connexion with religion by two stages—first the connexion becomes formal and otiose, then it disappears. In the Code of Hammurabi the first stage of this dissolution has begun. Its prologue is largely "conventionally phrased";[4] it does not appoint but only assumes religious custom; as to its use of the appeal to God in oath, the practice of modern courts of justice shows how otiose this may be. The only clear token of a living relation between law and religion is in the jealous regulation of the celibacy of the "votary" or sacred virgin.[5] On the other hand, none could apply the term "conventional" to the story of the thundering mountain and the quaking people that preludes Hebrew law.[6] Again, the Israelite "judgements" open with the regulation of the worship of God,[7] and recognise Jehovah as the protector of the helpless and the poor—"A stranger shalt thou not wrong . . . ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child. If thou afflict them . . . I will kill you with the sword."[8] There

[1] Though in different ways, the code of Hammurabi in the main illustrating the appeal to an oath for vindication (§§ 9, 20, 23, 103, 106, 120, 126, 131, 240, 249, 266, 281), while the "Book of the Covenant" invests the judges' decision with Divine sanction—if this be the meaning of Ex. xxii. 8 f. (*cf.* Additional Note 3). Hammurabi also recognises ordeal by water (§§ 2, 132).

[2] Ex. xxii. 18; Ham. §§ 2 f.

[3] Hammurabi has the "votary" in §§ 110, 127, 144-147, 178-182, the "vowed woman" in §§ 180 f., 187, 192 f., the "temple" in §§ 6, 8, 32, the "holy river" in §§ 2, 132. For the "Book of the Covenant" see Ex. xxi. 14, xxiii. 10-19.

[4] Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," v. p. 585 b (Johns).

[5] Apparently even if legally married she was to remain a virgin (§§ 144, 146).

[6] Ex. xix., xx. 18 ff.

[7] Ex. xx. 23 ff.

[8] Ex. xxii. 21 ff.; *cf.* xxii. 27, xxiii. 7.

is nothing otiose here![1] Hebrew law was the living will of the living Jehovah.[2] The tokens of that active passion, His jealousy, are strewn through the Code;[3] its epilogue is an assertion of His providence.[4] It is impossible to separate the Hebrew's law from his God.

It may be said that this difference arises because the Babylonian code, though older than the Hebrew, yet belongs to a more developed stage in civilisation—to one therefore in which the distinction between law and religion had been more or less clearly made—and that the conclusion to be drawn is, not that the Babylonian religion was otiose, but only that it was separate from law. This is perhaps true, but, though the answer involves later Hebrew codes, there is an answer. Israel, unlike other nations, *never* separated law from religion. Their connexion, close at first, remained so. In this race their unity survived every vicissitude of civilisation; indeed, ultimately, for the Jew law became religion and religion law. This defines Pharisaism and is still the creed of Judaism. Here the "Book of the Covenant" represents the whole history of Israel.

"*Respect of Persons*"

Hebrew law, again, successfully retained the principle of equity.

The earliest assertion of equity was perhaps the *lex talionis*, "Life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe."[5] The principle is admitted, more or less, in every system of law. As the strong are

[1] Some hold that a part of the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. xxi. 1–xxii. 17) was at first a secular code. But this not only assumes that the collection from which the "Elohist" took it had no religious sanction, but conflicts with his own account of the origin of just such "toroth" (Ex. xviii. 13 ff.), contradicts the uniform connexion of law and religion among primitive peoples, and ignores Israel's characteristic assertion through all her epochs of the dominion of religion in life.

[2] All interpretations of this word make it denote activity. Contrast the stolidity of idols.

[3] Ex. xx. 23, xxii. 31, xxiii. 13, 32 ff.

[4] Ex. xxiii. 20 ff.

[5] Ex. xxi. 23 ff.

usually both able and prone to exact *more* than a wrong's equivalent, it may at first have been a limitation of their vengeance on behalf of justice to the weak. "*Only* an eye for an eye" was its bent. Its elementary measurement of justice includes two notions, punishment and restitution, for the early disputant who had lost a tooth felt no doubt a satisfaction that amounted to compensation in knocking out his foe's! But in time aggrieved men discovered that compensation in goods or money was a better benefit than a foe's mutilation, and the fine began to supersede roughshod retaliation.[1] Here punishment and restitution still accompany each other, but their distinction at once follows. For to pay that which is full restitution may be no punishment at all for a rich man, but impossible for the poor. Then two ways are open—either full restitution is not exacted from the poor, which leaves the aggrieved party fair ground of complaint; or the old personal punishment is still inflicted on the poor, which is to make a distinction in favour of the rich. The latter way is usually chosen. Perhaps no legal code has found it possible altogether to avoid the "respect of persons" here involved, but codes admit it in different degrees. A code may reduce it to a minimum; or it may give it moderate scope; or it may enact universally that the wealthy, the high-born, the official, are to be treated in one way—the poor, the mean, the commoner, in another. "Class legislation" then reaches its sinister climax.

A particular but common and harsh instance may be taken as typical. Speaking broadly, the rich man desires the protection rather of property than persons. For in early times wealth was a usual sequel of power, and it was easier for the mean and the poor to damage the property than attack the person of the powerful. On the other hand, their persons were generally open to the assaults of his violence. So, as law commonly expresses the will of the stronger party, too often offences against property meet severer penalties than those against persons. In

[1] *e.g.* Ex. xxi. 22, 30.

England, for example, to steal a sheep was long a capital crime, though not to blind a man or to deflower a maid. The comparative treatment of property and persons is usually a fair standard of equity in law.

In such points as these it is not always easy to compare one code with another, because particular edicts can usually be adduced on either side. But, if the Code of Hammurabi and the "Book of the Covenant" be read through one after the other, the impression can hardly be avoided that Hammurabi in the main laid stress on the protection of property and "Moses" on the protection of persons. A comparison of the laws of theft will illustrate this. The Babylonian code punished with death not only several cases where this crime was proved, but some of its mere presumption;[1] on the other hand, the Hebrew "judgements" justify death for theft only in the case of a housebreaker taken redhanded and at night,[2] while for presumption of theft it requires only restitution twofold.[3] Or the two following laws may be taken as fairly illustrating the dominant spirit of each code—"If a man steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. . . . If he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft";[4] "If a man has stolen ox or sheep or ass or pig or ship, whether from the temple or the palace, he shall pay thirtyfold. If from a poor man he shall render tenfold. If the thief has not wherewith to pay, he shall be put to death."[5] While both these edicts show how law bears more hardly upon the poor, the Hebrew statute does so only in an unavoidable way, but the Babylonian decrees that a poor man shall receive compensation only at one-third the rate adjudged the "temple or palace," and appoints, not bondage, but death, to a destitute culprit. Similarly two other of its statutes run—"If [a métayer] has hired out [the landowner's] oxen or has stolen the seed and has

[1] §§ 6-11.
[2] Ex. xxii. 2 f.
[3] Ex. xxii. 2, 4.
[4] Ex. xxii. 1, 3.
[5] Ham. § 8. The punishments of this code are in general more severe than the Hebrew code's, though a few particulars may be quoted on the other side (§§ 117, 148, 149, 195).

not caused it to grow in the field, one shall call that man to account and he shall measure out sixty Gur of corn *per* Gan of land. If he is not able to pay his compensation, one shall cause him to be torn in pieces by the oxen on that field."[1] Hebrew law has some articles that to modern ears seem so severe as to be almost savage, but it punishes no crime against property with death.

The most characteristic contrast however remains. The Babylonian law recognises special rights, not only for temple and palace, but also for a "gentleman" as against a "poor man." A series of eighteen statutes, for instance, regulating punishment for assault,[2] proceeds throughout on the principle that the old *lex talionis*, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," is to apply if the assault be on a "gentleman," but is to be commuted for money if it be against a "poor man." Its first precepts exhibit its tone —"If a man has caused the loss of a gentleman's eye, one shall cause his eye to be lost. If he have shattered a gentleman's limb, one shall shatter his limb. If he has caused a poor man to lose his eye or shattered a poor man's limb, he shall pay one mina of silver!" And so on and on! It is clear at once by contrast how the sparing application of the method of commutation in Hebrew legislation lent itself to equity, and how democratic Israelite law was. All its codes, earlier and later alike, knew no "respect of persons." It kept its own command, "Thou shalt not wrest the judgement of thy poor in his cause."[3] Probably Israel inherited its love of equity and its hatred of "respect of persons" from the Desert,[4] but its law maintained it successfully through every development of

[1] §§ 255 f. In a particular or two again this code has "pity upon the poor" (*cf.* § 107 with §§ 106, 241). The reduction in a doctor's fees might be added (§§ 216, 222) if the doctor had held a modern physician's standing, but this was not so. The preponderant motive far is the protection of the stronger party.

[2] §§ 196-214. Other cases of "respect of persons" will be found in §§ 6, 8, 33, 129, 144-147 (special privilege for the "votary"), 192 f. The term translated "poor man" probably rather means "commoner" (Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," v. p. 589 a).

[3] Ex. xxiii. 6.

[4] "There is no principle so levelling as the law of blood-revenge, which is the basis of the tribal system, for here the law is man for man, whether in defence or offence, without respect of persons" (Robertson Smith, "Religion

civilisation. How great an achievement this was appears again from the Code of Hammurabi, for that too belonged to a people originally nomadic.[1]

A Humanitarian Tendency

The third distinctive feature of Hebrew law naturally follows—its bent was pre-eminently humanitarian.

It is not easy always to draw the line between equity and humanity, for often what one age yields to the distressed from pity the next admits as his right. In the Middle Ages, for instance, to free one's serfs was at first an act of benevolence but at last it became a duty. A code that knows no "respect of persons" is usually humanitarian too.

Here, again, it is not possible to range "Moses" absolutely against Hammurabi, but only to mark the tendency of each. There are one or two particulars in which the Bayblonian penalties are milder than the Hebrew—"Moses," for instance, characteristically punishes the "smiting" or "cursing" of father or mother with death, while the corresponding Babylonian edict decrees only mutiliation.[2] Side by side, again, with the Israelite prohibition of the keeping of a pledged garment overnight, may be set Hammurabi's infliction of a fine upon the man who seizes an ox for debt.[3] To the poor ryot his solitary ploughing-beast was as necessary as his garment to a labourer. But a touchstone to the general temper of the two codes in reference to humanity is their respective treatment of the bondman. Here the more ancient code in one particular exceeds the Hebrew in mildness—it decrees that a *free* man or woman, sold into bondage under stress of poverty, is to be liberated at the end of three years,

of Semites," p. 72). "The primitive Semitic tribe was as democratic a society as existed in the ancient world" (G. A. Smith, "Jerusalem," i. p. 436).

[1] *e.g. Expository Times*, vol. xxvi. (1914-5), p. 290.

[2] Ex. xxi. 15, 17; § 195.

[3] Ex. xxii. 26 f.; § 241.

while the Hebrew bondman served six;[1] and it has two other instances of benefit to the bond *through relation to the free*—a slave concubine who bore her master children won thereby a mitigated lot,[2] and if a bondman wedded the "daughter of a gentleman," their children were counted free.[3] But Hammurabi nowhere suggests that the bond-servant *as such* had any rights. On him it is consistently severe. It decrees death to one who aided the escape of a slave, who harboured the fugitive, or who had the brand of his master on his forehead defaced,[4] while a slave who denounced his master was to lose his ear.[5] There is no glimmering suspicion that the ordinary bondman—who had on connexion with the free by birth or marriage—had rights.[6] No single law benefits him. The short Hebrew code, on the other hand, in its five references to bond-service,[7] not only appoints deliverance after six years to a freeman reduced to slavery and refuses the rigour of bondage to a freeborn woman, but decrees liberty to an *ordinary bond-servant* whose owner's violence has knocked out his tooth or blinded his eye, while its Sabbath statute expressly appoints rest for the bond as for the free. Of the two last statutes the first is an elementary admission of the rights even of a slave, and the terms of the second explicitly lay down the principle of humanity—"On the seventh day thou shalt keep Sabbath: that thine

[1] On the other hand apparently a daughter so sold in Babylon was not protected from the stress of bondage as in Israel (§ 117; *cf.* p. 49), and in practice a shorter lease of service might mean that a creditor would thrust bondage upon a poor debtor for a proportionately smaller debt.

[2] §§ 119, 146, 171.

[3] §§ 175 ff.; *cf.* 1 Chron. ii. 34 f.

[4] §§ 15 f., 19, 227. That the brand was on the forehead appears from § 127. A professional brander who defaced a slave's brand "without the consent of the owner" only lost his hands (§ 226), the implication being that a man brought the brander a slave whom he claimed to have acquired and induced him to deface his old master's mark (Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," v. p. 589 b). § 227 involves the theft of a slave and prescribes death for it. This seems a more natural explanation than Cook's ("Laws of Moses and Code of Hammurabi," p. 160).

[5] § 282.

[6] Bodily harm done to "a gentleman's" bondman was punished by fine, but the fine went, of course, not to the bondman, but to the "gentleman" (§ 199).

[7] Ex. xxi. 2 ff., 7 ff., 26 f., 32, xxiii. 12; *cf.* xx. 10.

ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thine handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed."[1] The bent of Hebrew law was from the first peculiarly humantarian.[2]

The Unity of the Three Characteristics

As already suggested, many instances both of the first and second peculiarities of Hebrew law illustrate the third. The connexion of the three peculiarities is important, for it is a first illustration of the constant relation in Hebrew thought between the nature of God and the rights of man. This connexion, indeed, makes "humanitarian" a rather inadequate word, as will appear more fully later. It was because equity and compassion were already the marks of Jehovah that they began to inform His people's law. Often, as the quotations above show, transition was direct from the one to the other. The principles "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart" and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" were not yet enunciated, but their way was preparing, and it was preparing in the particular fashion that the second should follow from the first. Israel learnt its law from its God. Even those who deny the historicity of the splendid story of Sinai must admit its symbolic truth.

The inter-connexion of the three characteristics of Israelite law meets also a possible criticism. Each of them taken alone may be found in other early codes, but their combination is peculiar. The Laws of Manu, for example, make legislation a part of religion, but they base on the inequity of caste. The Buddha's precepts, on the other hand, were humanitarian, but they did not spring from his concept of God. Buddhism originally was "morality without religion," and a strict scrutiny would find a root of its ultimate helplessness here. Confucius, again, built much on the value of law and grasped

[1] Ex. xxiii. 12.

[2] "A humane regard for the unprotected and the helpless is unquestionably the dominant spirit of the 'Book of the Covenant,'" Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," iii. p. 68 (Driver).

with rare clearness the principle of equity, but he thought the gods best kept at a distance. Israel's idiosyncrasy lay in the combination of the three notions.

The Decalogue

The date of another and greater code, the Decalogue, is still disputed, and it seems best, therefore, to keep the discussion of its sociological value separate. As the writer thinks it likely that it was promulgated before the Monarchy, it is considered here; but, whatever its date, the untold advantage of the possession of this simple and austere standard of conduct fell sooner or later to the people of Israel.

In the Decalogue the equity and humanitarianism of other Hebrew law are rather implicit than explicit.[1] It is very different, however, with the third and fundamental quality of Hebrew law—the connexion of ethics with religion. The Decalogue bases on the assertion "I am the Lord thy God," and its first four commands secure the rights, not of men, but of Jehovah. Not murder but apostasy heads its sins. In it sociology is the sequel of theology. Luther rightly interpreted it when he began the exposition of each of its commands with the words, "We ought to fear and love God."

A Simple and "Pure" Code

This code, however, is chiefly remarkable, not for what it shares with other Hebrew codes, but for certain singular qualities. The first of these is its simplicity. To attain this anywhere in human thought seems easy only to the tyro; the expert knows that it is the last achievement of genius. Not the astrologer but Newton made the universe simple. As to law, the elaboration of the detailed and the trivial is one of the marks of the legal practices of "primitive man." To use another instance from

[1] This is peculiarly true of humanitarianism. There is here an auxiliary argument for the Decalogue's early date. It is assumed that the Ten Words were all at first very brief.

astronomy—the Decalogue compares with them as Kepler's ellipse with the Ptolemaic epicycles. No doubt the student of any great race is able to show that certain great principles underlay its early practice, but the enunciation of such principles is usually slow and toilsome. How painfully, for example, did the "Christian consciousness" evolve the maxim "Thou shalt not enslave"—yet it was always implicit in the Christian theory. Or again, with how tedious steps is the English "man in the street," or even English law, reaching the general principle "Thou shalt not gamble!" There are shortcomings in the Decalogue as there are spots on the sun—yet both retain their splendour. To frame the Ten Words demanded genius of the highest order, and they are still an unsurpassed statement of the rudiments of society. From them Jesus chose to start when in His great sermon He described its goal. They have the austere simplicity of the stars.

The simplicity of the Decalogue leads easily to its purity. By this is meant the absence—or at least the comparative insignificance—of the ceremonial or ritual. Early races not only embarrass their morality by an intermixture of this, but fail to distinguish it from the ethical. An illustration may be given. Sir Henry Maine, writing of the early history of contract, says—"That which the law arms with its sanctions is not a promise, but a promise accompanied with a solemn ceremonial. Not only are formalities of equal importance with the promise itself, but they are, if anything, of greater importance. . . . No pledge is enforced if a single form be omitted or misplaced, but, on the other hand, if the forms can be shown to have been accurately proceeded with, it is of no avail to plead that the promise was made under duress or deception."[1] The Decalogue is free from this confusion. This is peculiarly clear of the last six Commandments—of those, namely, that are directly social. Here Israel, distinguishing exactly the kernel from the husk, threw the husk away. At the time same this quality is only remarkable if the Decalogue be really of

[1] "Ancient Law," chap. ix.

quite early date, for the law codes of all progressive races of course make in the end the distinction named. It is made, for instance, both in the " Book of the Covenant " and the Code of Hammurabi.

A Universal and Individual Code

Again, the Decalogue approximates to universality. While its precepts do not apply always to all men, they almost do so. Their limit is not geographical but historical. The Fifth, Seventh, and Tenth Commandments could have no application in the distant day when the family was not yet " differentiated " within the clan. The first two Commandments, on the other hand, in their literal as distinct from their deeper interpretation, are obsolete to-day, for the first presupposes a shrine centring in a sacred symbol of Jehovah, and the second assumes the inevitable connexion of statuary with idolatry. The Decalogue, therefore, is not absolutely universal. Probably, indeed, utter universality belongs to no human institution. But the Ten Words attain a practical universality. This, again, is peculiarly true of the six distinctively social Commandments. A comparison with the " Book of the Covenant," apt only to a primitive agricultural community, brings out the worth of this quality. Does any other code so nearly approach the universal ?

A fourth distinction of the Decalogue is hardly more than the third put in another way. What applies to all applies to each—a code that tends to universality tends also to individualism It is true that Israel did not attain to an explicit and reasoned individualism until a very much later date,[1] but it is also true that there were in early Hebrew institutions implicit preparations for its coming.[2] The temper of one people may be readier for the passage to individualism, when it comes, than that of another. By the time of Justinian, for instance, Roman law had all but completed this passage, but Hindu law has

[1] See pp. 111 ff., and chap. iv., section B. [2] See pp. 79 ff.

never attempted it.[1] The Ten Words, whatever their date, undoubtedly belong to the time when Israel still usually "thought in families"—for the later additions to the Second, the Fourth, and the Tenth require this—but among codes of that stage in national story this one is peculiarly apt to individualism. Its distinction here is its "Thou." The common use of law prefers the "third person." It is true that the "Book of the Covenant" and other Hebrew codes partly share this peculiarity, but the "Thou" of the Decalogue is constant while theirs is sporadic. Half the effect of the Ten Words, especially in their ancient terseness, depends upon the iterated challenge of its "second person." Though the Hebrew, unlike the English, does not head each Commandment with the same monosyllable, its imperatives give a similar impression. Further, the "Thou" of the other Israelite codes hesitates between the nation and the individual. This is why it alternates with "Ye."[2] Some of their edicts could hardly apply to the single man.[3] A grammatical construction may seem trivial at first, but here it is not really so. The Hebrew's Ten Words isolated the individual. In them he faced Jehovah alone! Terrible as this was, it meant that his God thought him worth facing alone. Here is the source of Israel's later individualism.

A Propœdeutic of Principle

A code of law that is simple, pure, universal, and individualist, is thereby peculiarly fit for the teaching of principle. Law involves principle, suggests it, illustrates it, and it may do this in an effective or an ineffective way. From this point of view the least satisfactory law is one that exhausts itself in the definition of particulars, the most satisfactory one that has no conditions at all. The command "Thou shalt not steal," implies the same principle as the rule "If a man shall cause a field or a vine-

[1] Maine, "Ancient Law," chap. v. (especially at its end).
[2] *e.g.* Ex. xxxiv. 12 f.
[3] *e.g.* Ex. xxii. 18, xxxiv. 12, 15.

yard to be eaten, and shall let his beast loose and it feeds in another man's field; of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution" —but which edict best teaches the principle of honesty? Some, without great inexactness, call the Commandments principles outright.[1] In the next epoch the Prophets were to lead Israel to the truth that social problems are beyond the solution of law, and to require that principle be recognised and willingly practised. The Decalogue was a matchless preparation for this transition. In it the educational, as distinct from the coercive, use of Hebrew law reached its zenith. Indeed, in the last Commandment the coercive use disappears altogether. "Thou shalt not covet"—here force is out of court. When Jesus, in the Sermon on the Mount, sought an alphabet of conduct as starting-point, He found it in the Ten Commandments.

The Fate of Standards

Of course this standard, as other standards, was not always reached. There were Israelite idolaters and murderers and thieves. Further—and this is more often overlooked—of course the nation did not at once apply its standard fully. To the ancient Hebrew the Decalogue would long seem a "counsel of perfection"—for long indeed he would not even understand its breadth. This is especially true of its universality. For instance, he did not dream that "Thou shalt not kill" applied to an alien enemy as well as to an Israelite friend. Wherever a standard is set that is far above common practice, there is a tendency to frame another and lower which is held to be "practical," while the higher is dubbed "theoretic" and "ideal." How many "business men" to-day count Christianity impracticable in commerce! There are, therefore, two ways in which a people may depart from its standards of behaviour—searching into their principles it may gradually come to exceed their demands; or,

[1] Probably, however, the Decalogue seemed to early Israel to assert rather rights than principles, *cf.* Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," v. p. 634 (Kautzsch).

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finding them hard, it may consent to practices that their complete interpretation condemns. The juxtaposition is not without irony! For Israel the next Sections of this Chapter illustrate both kinds of departure.

Section E.—The Family Unit

The Village and the Clan

Usually societies may be divided according to more than one unit. A modern nation, for instance, may be separated into "classes" or households or individuals. Yet often a particular unit predominates in current thought and use. The predominant social unit in pre-Monarchic Israel was the family. This distinguished the agricultural era from its predecessor, the nomadic, for in nomadic society the effective unit is the clan, the family being quite subordinate. Indeed, early Arabic nomadism probably passed through a stage in which the division of clans into families was not yet known.[1] The Hebrew documents ignore that stage. They assume that society consisted of separate families, not only in the times of the "judges," but also of the Patriarchs. Whether this was by anachronism or not, is here beside the mark. Israel could not think of its perfect men save as heads of families, and this is proof positive that in the pre-Monarchic period Hebrew society was organised in separate homes. The ultimate importance of this is great, for the final Biblical doctrine of society models on home. At the same time it is to be remembered that an Israelite family included many more than a modern household.[2] Such a home as Abraham's was the current social unit.

A Hebrew village was just a group of several families. This contradicts the assumption of some writers that an Israelite village was like an Arab tribe—an assumption often silently made when the term "clan" is used of

[1] Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," chap. iii.
[2] See p. 14.

Hebrew settlements. For, while the early records assume that a clan of alien origin like the "Gibeonites" was an indivisible unit,[1] they never make this assumption of an Israelite village. The family of Jesse, for instance, is never a synonym for Bethlehem, nor the family of Kish for Gibeah. A Hebrew village was not a clan, but a band of families. The fact that they would usually be intermarried, did not destroy their separateness, nor the value set upon each of them. The difference between a Hebrew village and a clan was, on its own scale, similar to that between a family and an individual.

The Blood-Feud of Families

This integration of society by families is well illustrated by a change in the custom of blood-feud. As this term is often loosely used, it is well to begin with an exact definition of its primitive type—"If a man kills one of his own kin, he finds no one to take his part. Either he is put to death by his own people, or he becomes an outlaw and must take refuge in an alien group. On the other hand, if the slayer and the slain are of different kindred groups a blood-feud at once arises, and the slain man may be avenged by any member of his own group on any member of the group of the slayer."[2] In other words, the primitive blood-feud was always of community with community; *within a clan* there could be no blood-feud. In nomadism feud and war are the same thing.

In the Wilderness this primitive custom would be natural to Israel, and her feud with Amalek, at least traditionally, arose there.[3] With the assault upon Canaan, again, feud began with the old "inhabitants of the land"; later still it might be practised against neighbouring races. But, when Israel was scattered in numerous agricultural villages, might there not be blood-feud *within* it? Would not internal feud be almost inevitable, if

[1] 2 Sam. xxi. 1 f.
[2] Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," p. 25.
[3] Ex. xvii. 8 ff.; 1 Sam. xv. 2.

not between tribe and tribe, at least between village and village or family and family? What when a man from one village killed a man from another? Here is a problem not germane to nomadism. In a nation, as distinct from a clan, there may be both external and internal feud. It admits the distinction between "public" and "private" war.

Internal blood-feud no doubt existed in Israel before the Kings, though its two great instances—the feuds between the Gibeonites and the house of Saul, and between the houses of Kish and Jesse—happen to belong to the early Monarchy. The last gives the characteristic example—Joab killed Abner because Abner killed Asahel even though he had done so in "fair fight.". Both stories, however, show that the blood-feud within Israel was not between tribe and tribe, but between family and family. It is true that "the Gibeonites" are named as a clan, but, as already seen, they were still readily distinguishable from the Hebrews proper.[1] All the Israelite parties in both feuds were families. The Judahite as such did not think himself bound to avenge Asahel upon all Benjamites nor the Benjamite to avenge Abner upon all Judahites.[2] The only clear example of internal feud in the Book of Judges is also of the family type. Gideon slew Zebah and Zalmunna,[3] not as enemies of his people, but as slayers of his mother's sons—that is, he did not think of himself in the old nomadic way as so obviously one with his people that he must kill anyone who had slain another Israelite or even another Manassite, but he did think of his family as so utterly one that he must avenge a brother's death.[4] Again, while the feud of family with family may often have meant that of village with village, since a village's families would frequently be inter-related, the immediate concept in the documents is of family feuds. A linguistic fact distinguishes these from tribal feuds—the term חרם, "death-devote," particularly appropriate to

[1] 2 Sam. xxi. 2. [3] *e.g.* 2 Sam. ii. 23 ff. [3] Judg. viii. 18 ff.
[4] The question of the implication of the use here of "mother" instead of "father" is left on one side.

the latter,[1] is nowhere used of the family feud, not even when its parties worshipped different gods.[2]

It is not difficult to understand how this custom might supervene on the nomadic one. For, while in the nomadic feud the duty of vengeance belonged to every member of the kindred-group, it fell *primarily* to the family of the dead man; only if they were unable to execute it did it pass to the tribe.[3] It usually did so pass, but the distinction was there. Again, whenever a tribe divided and lost its "local unity," its parts generally ceased to wage blood-feud in common, each division holding itself responsible only for its own members; ultimately there might even be feud between them.[4] When the Hebrews settled in Canaan "local unity" passed from the tribe to the village and the family, and there emerged a new type of feud. The instance of Scotland shows that a nation's unity may survive the feuds of its clans; the feud of families is less formidable.

Murder within the Village

A third custom must be distinguished both from tribal and from family feud. What happened if the murderer and the murdered were of the same village? According to nomadic use no feud could arise within a kindred-group; if one tribesman slew another, the tribe put him to death; he could only escape by flight. His refuges were two—another tribe might receive him, whereupon his defence against his old tribe became its duty, or he might seek "asylum" at some shrine.[5]

There is no instance in Israel of family feud within a single village. On the other hand, there is considerable indirect evidence that in the early agricultural epoch a Hebrew community recognised the duty of putting to

[1] See p. 83. [2] Judg. viii. 18 ff.

[3] This is implied in Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," p. 26, but the facts are more fully stated by Patton in his article "Blood-Revenge in Arabia and Israel" (*American Journal of Theology*, 1901, pp. 705 f.).

[4] Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," p. 42 f.

[5] Patton, *op. cit.*, pp. 703 f., 710 ff.

death the murderer of a fellow-villager. In the stories of Achan and of the Levite's concubine "all Israel" executes the sentence and in that of Peor the "judges of Israel," and these details at least imply a custom; the wording of the oldest law against murder[1] has the same suggestion; death by stoning[2] was the small community's natural form of united execution; a Hebrew village could hardly have held together at all without this elementary vindication of right;[3] the law of the manslayer takes it for granted that the murderer would flee for his life. It seems clear that the old nomadic rule still held for murder within the community.[4]

Yet, while the whole community was responsible in the last resort for the execution of justice upon a villager who killed his fellow, this duty fell in the first instance to the murdered man's family. The story of the woman of Tekoa belongs to the first days of the Monarchy, but there can be no doubt that her parable portrays the ancient custom of Israel. In it a murdered man's family appear as the usual executioners of justice, even though the murderer himself belonged to their own number.[5] No doubt, when the criminal and his victim belonged to different families, the murdered man's relatives could rely upon the support of the whole village, if necessary, when they demanded that the murderer die, but they themselves took action first. The community's strength would be passive; the operative unit was the family.

Punishment would depend even more upon the family if the felon fled the village. The evidence here is from the institution of "The Cities of Refuge." It is described in documents of later date,[6] but a passage in the "Book of

[1] Ex. xxi. 12-14.

[2] *e.g.* Ex. xvii. 4, xix. 13; Josh. vii. 25; 1 Sam. xxx. 6. The penalty of Deuteronomy (xiii. 10, xvii. 5, xxii. 21, 24) was therefore an old one.

[3] There is an illustration from far afield in Mark Twain's "Huckleberry Finn."

[4] "Justifiable homicide," however, was distinguished from murder (Ex. xxii. 2; Gen. iv. 23).

[5] 2 Sam. xiv. 7.

[6] Deut. iv. 41 ff., xix. 3 ff.; Num. xxxv.; *cf.* Josh. xx. 4 f.

the Covenant" requires its antiquity.[1] What are its presuppositions? It assumes that a murderer would of course flee if he could; that, if he succeeded in getting away, the village as such had no regular officer of justice to pursue him; that this duty fell to his family; that another Hebrew village, if it were not a "City of Refuge," would not defend the outlaw but deliver him to the "avenger of blood"; that justice required only his own death and not also that of his relatives. Further, the "Book of the Covenant" restricts the right of "sanctuary" even at the "Cities of Refuge" to the homicide by accident, and assumes that they would yield the wilful murderer to justice.[2] All this illustrates the inevitable modification of nomadic use, and shows how among the Hebrews in Canaan the unity of the nation and of the family, each in its own way, superseded the unity of the clan. As formerly within the tribe, so now within the nation the murderer found no defenders—this being additional evidence that Israel at this time did not lose its sense of unity. On the other hand, the execution of justice upon a criminal, while in theory it belonged to the whole nation—as the story of the outrage of Gibeah shows[3]—usually fell to the victim's family. The pursuit of the manslayer is often loosely included under the term "blood-feud," but the marks of the true feud—the quarrel of community with community, and the punishment of a criminal in the person of his relatives—are lacking. Moreover, the aims of the two customs differed. The blood-feud, even when internal to Israel, sought justice against one outside the village society, the manslayer against an "insider." In both, however, the effective unit in pre-Monarchic Israel was the family. Both, too, illustrate the beginnings of the doctrine of responsibility.

[1] Ex. xxi. 13.

[2] Ex. xxi. 13 f.; *cf.* Deut. xix. 12.

[3] Patton (*op. cit.*, p. 718) does not sufficiently allow for the fact that this story illustrates murder *within* the community. His conclusion (p. 730 f.), too, assumes that the Biblical records of Hebrew feuds are inaccurate, apparently because they do not agree with the rules of *nomadic* feud, whereas they witness to just such changes as the settlement of nomads in scattered villages was sure to bring.

A Father's Autocracy

The organisation of a village in families contrasted with nomadism in another way. It naturally developed the autocracy of the father, or rather of the head of a house.[1] In the Desert clans parental authority has always been slight,[2] just because the family unit is unimportant. In the early agricultural village, on the other hand, the local separation of the several families, together with the close unity of each, promoted the importance of a household's head.[3] He was responsible for all its members, and his acts bound them; they shared his prosperity or his poverty, his eminence or his doom; they were part and parcel of him. If he were righteous Jehovah blessed them, if sinful a curse pursued their generations.[4] Achan's "folly" involved his whole house;[5] Abraham and Jephthah had the right to sacrifice a son or a daughter;[6] the former could dismiss Hagar and Ishmael into the Desert;[7] a father could sell his children into slavery;[8] both Jacob, when he deceived Isaac, and his sons, when in turn they lied to a senile father, carefully observed the form of submission;[9] the "Book of the Covenant" makes

[1] In the ancient inclusive family there were, of course, fathers who were not head of the house (p. 14), but there is no intimation of their relation to their children there. This, however, is not important for social theory, as the position of the head of the house became ultimately the pattern of all fatherhood. Two stories that seem to illustrate the sway of a subordinate father do not really do so—in Gen. xxxviii. Judah is treated not as one of Jacob's sons but as head of a quite independent house; Jacob's position in Laban's house is more nearly what is wanted, and it is noteworthy that he seems doubtful whether his wives will flee with him from their father and that Laban calls Jacob's taking of them theft (Gen. xxxi. 4 ff., 26), yet his family is not treated quite as a part of Laban's, as the separation of their cattle shows. It is probable that there is here a hint, not of family custom, but of the earlier clan organisation (Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," p. 207), for Jacob's right to his children, as distinct from his wives, is not disputed (*v.* 17).

[2] Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," p. 68, and p. 193, note 2.

[3] *e.g.* Ex. xi. 4, xii. 29, xx. 10, 17, xxxiii. 8, xxxiv. 16; Num. xiv. 18, 33, xvi. 27 ff.; Josh. ii. 12 f., vi. 23 ff., vii. 24, xxiv. 15; Judg. i. 25, viii. 19, xii. 9, xv. 2, 6; 1 Sam. iii. 12 ff.; and the whole *motif* of the Book of Ruth (ii. 1, iii. 12, etc.).

[4] Ex. xx. 5 f.

[5] Josh. vii.

[6] Gen. xxii. 2; Judg. xi. 34 ff.

[7] Gen. xxi. 10 ff.

[8] Ex. xxi. 7 ff.

[9] Gen. xxvii. 18 ff., xxxvii. 31 ff.

the smiting or cursing of father or mother a capital offence.[1] "Honour thy father and mother"[2] is the first of the Decalogue's social commands.[3] The only surviving instance of the open defiance of a father is that of Eli's sons, and its odious peculiarity is expressly marked—"They hearkened not unto the voice of their father because the Lord would slay them."[4] The whole structure of society in early Israel rested upon the father's autocracy within the family.

Yet the particular word that introduces the Fifth Commandment deserves notice. In some societies the reverence due to parents from children is too little observed, in others too much. Many hastily assume that the former mistake marks modern societies and the latter primitive ones, but the historian cannot allow so broad a distinction. The story of Noah's drunkenness is enough to disprove it.[5] But the tendency of an agricultural community organised in villages, in contrast with a nomadic organised in clans, is to the exaggeration of paternal authority. The classical instance of the ill outcome of this error is of course the Chinese. In old China a subservient submission to a living father passed into the worship of a dead one, and the stagnation of one of the most active peoples in the world followed. The Israelite escaped this pitfall because with all his reverence for the Patriarchs he did not elevate them into gods. So the first word of the Fifth Commandment is a "golden mean"—"Honour." No later eloquence has bettered its justice. Israel reserved its worship not for a dead forefather but a living God. Already more than one story told that even a father's

[1] Ex. xxi. 15, 17.

[2] The inclusion of "mother" raises a question that belongs to the subject of womanhood, here omitted.

[3] Add Num. xii. 14; Josh. xxiv. 15; Judg. x. 3, xii. 8, 14; 1 Sam. ix. 5. Of course in actual life a father's autocracy would sometimes be overborne or ignored by an adult son or an able wife. There are instances of the first in the stories of Jacob's sons, of Gideon (Judg. vi. 25 ff.), of Samson (Judg. xiv 1 ff.), and of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 5 ff.), while as to the second surely Deborah ruled Lappidoth all the days of his life! *Cf.*, too, Judg. xvii. 2 ff.

[4] 1 Sam. ii. 25.

[5] Gen. ix. 20 ff.

right falls second to God's.[1] The moderation of the Fifth Commandment is its salt.

The Yeomen of Israel

Ancient societies did not recognise the worth of the individual—that is, of every man just because he is a man. But this recognition may come by stages. In the early Hebrew villages the several heads of houses themselves were true individuals. Each of them, whatever his ability, bore his part in the deliberations of " the gate "—he helped to rule. Further, he would have frequent decisions to take in the life of home and farm. His experience of autocracy would breed independence and self-reliance. These qualities mark the yeoman everywhere. In Israel before the Monarchy they would be the more pronounced because it knew no regular authority higher than that of the eldership—that is, of the united heads of houses themselves. Further, the Democracy of Families recognised the rights of each family within a village, and, as each family was one with its head, this meant the recognition of *his* rights. The integration of society in families, while it denies individuality to the many, develops it in the few.

The history of Israel at this time was the history of great individuals. Moses, Joshua, the several " judges "—each of these in turn absorbs the story of his people. The individual dominates the nation rather than the nation the individual. Carlyle could not have found a better illustration of his thesis that the hero makes his epoch. To pilot a people through a desert, to lead an invasion, to repulse an invader, are the tasks of individual leadership. Without its heroes Israel had perished. Whence came they at its need ? Who were the " judges " ? They belonged to the very class of independent yeomen that the family organisation was sure to provide. The same is true of Israel's first two kings, Saul and David ; even Joshua is represented as head of a single house ;[2] only

[1] Judg. vi. 25 ; Deut. xxxiii. 9 ; *cf.* Ex. xxxii. 27.
[2] Josh. xxiv. 15.

Moses escapes the rule. The Democracy of Families marked a stage in Israel's evolution of individualism—in it each family had a person at its head.

The Sacrifice of Children

But what of individualism proper? The first right of persons is the right to live. So long as the head of the house had the power of life and death over the other members of a Hebrew family, they were rather thought of as property than persons. The "Book of the Covenant" shows that in the instance of the slave this power passed away in Israel before the Monarchy. Indeed, a master was forbidden even to maim a bondman.[1] A later Section (**F**) traces the first recognition of the rights of the "ger" as well. It seems impossible that, if the slave and the "sojourner" partly escaped the absolute autocracy of the head of a Hebrew house, the other members of the family failed to do so. Yet two well-known stories seem to allow the slaying of children. What is to be said of them?

Historically a distinction must be made between infanticide and the putting to death of older children. The former was practised among many nations apart from the latter, and even yet some hesitate fully to count it murder. In other words, they tend to deny complete personality to a newly-born infant. Whether Israel practised infanticide is at present doubtful. Archæology shows that it had been frequent among the Canaanites, though by the days of David it seems to have been becoming less common even with them.[2] Probably the custom of the "redemption of the first-born"[3] means that in Israel it had once been common in sacrifice, but that it had passed away.[4] The scarcity of food that so long provoked infanticide among the Bedawin would be rare in Canaan; and the Hebrew records consistently witness that children were highly prized.

[1] Ex. xxi. 20 f., 26 f.

[2] Driver, Schweich Lectures, pp. 68 ff. "Instances after 1200 B.C. are, however, rare" (p. 88).

[3] Ex. xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20; *cf.* Gen. xix. 13.

[4] *Cf.* Ex. i. 15 ff.

But the stories of Abraham and of Jephthah[1] contemplate the slaying of older children. The origin of the practice is obscure. Some hold that the ritual slaughter of human beings was at first not a sacrificial but a funeral custom, and that it did not become sacrificial until the agricultural stage had supervened upon the nomadic.[2] It is certain that it obtained among Israel's neighbours, and that with them, as in its Hebrew instances, it was at this time, not a tribe's sacrifice of one of its members, but a father's of his child.[3] It illustrates the autocracy of a father. But it only occurred in sacrifice. Both stories contemplate the slaying of a child as an offering to God. In spite of the custom's repulsiveness in modern eyes, it harboured the idea that a man must be ready to forego his dearest for his god; it declared "he that loveth . . . son or daughter more than Me is not worthy of Me"; its mistake was to suppose that the true God could desire a human offering. Three stages may be distinguished in its history—a given religion may require, tolerate, or forbid it. To which stage had the early religion of Israel come?

Both stories assume that a father had a right to sacrifice his child, and both lay stress upon a consequence that seems to modern thought quite secondary—the consequence that through the sacrifice of an only child the family would become extinct.[4] But both also represent this sacrifice as an heroic and rare thing. He who can read either of these pitiful tales and miss this is a pedant indeed! To descend to another kind of consideration—is it not likely that, if such vows as Jephthah's were common, care would always have been taken that the returning victor met

[1] Gen. xxii.; Judg. xi.

[2] Jevons, "Introduction to History of Religion," pp. 156, 161, 199 f.

[3] 2 Kings iii. 27, xvi. 3; Micah vi. 7; Lev. xviii. 21, 24, 30. *Cf.* Driver, Schweich Lecture, pp. 70 ff. That excavation reveals traces only of "foundation sacrifice" does not, of course, prove that no other kinds of human sacrifice were practised. The Biblical instances are such as would leave no archæological trace.

[4] "Thine *only* son" (Gen. xxii. 2)—Isaac was the pledge of Abraham's promised "seed." So of Jephthah—"She was his *only* child" (Judg. xi. 34); she bewailed, too, not her death but her "virginity" (*v.* 37).

some other living thing than his child on his threshold? The history of other "superstitious" practices quite supports this. Again, the Book of Judges had not so dwelt on Jephthah's deed unless it were peculiar. Far from implying that human sacrifice was frequent in Israel, this story makes it rare.

Again, unlike Abraham, Jephthah did not purpose to slay his child, though his vow did admit the possibility that he would need to offer a human sacrifice. Once made, however, his vow bound him. The sacredness of the vow is the story's own emphasis.[1] It suggests that under unusual stress Jephthah made an unusual vow and that it had a still more unusual upshot, while his own remorse and the tenderness of his child's submission show how hardly the vow's strictness told. Here appears the true value of the story of Moriah. Its interrupted sacrifice taught Israel that Jehovah's cult did not *require* the offering of a child. A voluntary vow is one thing, a prescribed rite another. So, though it is at present doubtful when the *possibility* of human sacrifice ceased among the Hebrews, it very early ceased to be a *necessary* element in Israel's worship, even if it had ever been so. Outside worship the killing of children—at any rate apart from infants—does not seem to have occurred at all, and even the exception is doubtful. Israel was coming to see that a child, like a slave, had the right to live.

There were at this time other anticipations of the recognition of the worth of every man as such—for instance, in the equity and humanity of Hebrew law,[2] and in the individualist tendency of the Decalogue[3]—but, as in progressive races the *patria potestas* has usually been the staunchest enemy of individualism,[4] the first hints of its limitation are peculiarly important. Still, as yet there were only hints. The regulative fact in Israel before the Kings was the integration of society in families, each under its own head.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 94 f. [2] See pp. 58 ff., 62 ff. [3] See p. 67.
[4] *Cf.* Maine, "Ancient Law," chap. v.

Section F.—The Alien: A Conflict of Ideals

"*The Lord is a Man of War*"

The custom of states has always justified and encouraged the killing of an enemy, but their answer to the question "Who is an enemy?" has varied. In Christendom to-day a nation's normal relation to all others is peace and war is exceptional, but in the beginning this was not so. Originally a stranger was at least potentially a foe and a fellow-tribesman the only "neighbour."[1] Again, an actual enemy might be killed at any time and not only during battle. Moreover, when war broke out between two tribes, it was blood-feud and so tended to be perpetual.[2] Ishmael is the best Old Testament example—"His hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him."[3]

Against this religion long made no protest—"A man is held answerable to his god for a wrong done to a member of his own kindred or political community, but he may deceive, kill, or rob an alien without offence to religion; the deity cares only for his own kinsfolk."[4] But more—in the Semitic world religion not only failed to condemn war, but commended it. "Jihad," or religious war, was not invented but only perpetuated by Muhammad; here as elsewhere Islam is anachronism. War was holy as well as constant.

At first Israel had these customs like her neighbours of nomad stock. In the Wilderness all the older tribes—except the kindred one of Hobab[5]—would treat the new rovers as proper prey; apparently the long Hebrew blood-feud with Amalek began here.[6] After the settlement in Canaan, again, in theory there was always war between

[1] *Cf.* Gen. iv. 14.

[2] "The whole law of the old Arabs really resolves itself into a law of war; blood-feud, blood-wit, and booty, are the points on which everything turns" (Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage," p. 67).

[3] Gen. xvi. 12.

[4] Robertson Smith, "Religion of Semites," p. 54.

[5] Num. x. 29 ff.

[6] Ex. xvii. 8 ff.; *cf.* 1 Sam. xv. 2.

Israel and her neighbours, and frequently in practice. Machir, for instance, is said to have been allotted the Eastern frontier "because he was a man of war."[1] The calling of "freebooter," followed in early life both by Jephthah and David,[2] sprang from this incessant border struggle, for the "freebooter" lived partly by the plunder of alien tribes and partly by friendly farmers' gifts in return for protection from those tribes' foray.[3] But the great Israelite instance of the legitimacy of war is the Hebrew attack upon the Canaanites. To a modern reader Joshua's invasion seems selfish and wanton, but to the early Hebrew it was justifiable and praiseworthy. This, too, best illustrates the sacredness of war for Israel. The Hebrews believed that Jehovah had given them Canaan,[4] and that against its peoples, therefore, their strife was holy; the initial theophany of the Book of Joshua was of "a man with a drawn sword in his hand" and his word was "as captain of the host of the Lord am I now come";[5] the Hebrew thought of the slaughter of the Canaanites as a form of sacrifice, and for it he had a distinctive religious term that defies translation into languages whose speakers do not make religious war—"Herem." Perhaps "death-devote" comes nearest in English. To kill an enemy was a form of sacrifice. To do this even after the fight was usual in early Israel,[6] while Moses, Ehud, and Samson's slaughter of their people's foes in what would now be called "time of peace" marked them for heroes of Israel.[7]

All this finds succinct expression in a phrase from one of Israel's early songs—"The Lord is a man of war."[8] A study of these songs is its best exposition. For the literature of the Hebrews, as of other peoples, began with song, and with song flung out under the ecstatic excitement of war. Some of those extant are inserted in the

[1] Josh. xvii. 1.
[2] Judg. xi. 3; 1 Sam. xxii. 2.
[3] 1 Sam. xxv. 6 ff., xxvii. 7 ff.
[4] See p. 31.
[5] Josh. v. 13 f. The term "host" occurs here with "Lord" though the phrase "the Lord of Hosts," distinctive of Jehovah as God of battles, begins only with the Davidic era. *Cf.* pp. 147 f.
[6] *e.g.* Josh. viii. 29, x. 26; Judg. iii. 29; vii. 25.
[7] Ex. ii. 11 f.; Judg. iii. 15 ff., xiv. 19 ff.
[8] Ex. xv. 3.

patriarchal story, yet, as they betray by their terminology not a nomadic but an agricultural race, they belong like the others to the period now under discussion. Almost all are at once songs of Jehovah and of war. So, again, to take the Ark of God into battle was the natural form of forlorn hope in defeated Israel,[1] for had not Moses' word, when the Ark set forward, been—" Rise up, O Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered "? [2] Jehovah was a " man of war." In those fierce days only extermination or slavery [3] awaited a tribe whose god could no longer fight.

So long as war was religious there could arise no doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man, and if this opinion had persisted in Israel she would have given no theory of society to the world. Yet " holy war," like all other widespread human customs, has in it an element of worth. " Jihad " is the first crude expression of the intolerance of God.

Though all tribes probably began with the worship of a single tribal god, yet when they united in nations, polytheism usually supervened. As the tribes dwelt together in peace, so did their gods ; divinities submitted to the degradation of equality.[4] But, though Israel was a race of mixed origin,[5] she declined polytheism ; from the first Jehovah was a " jealous God " and brooked no fellow in His shrine—" Thou shalt have none other gods before Me." In other words, Israel could only unite with another tribe on condition that the other tribe, at least in name, abandoned its peculiar god and accepted Jehovah. Of this method of union she is the leading, if not the solitary, example. The fourteen verses of the epilogue of the " Book of the Covenant " just elaborate this one behest—" Thou shalt make no covenant with [the Canaanites] *nor with their gods*." [6] As will appear below, Israel learnt later to discriminiate between the two,[7] but when the Hebrews

[1] 1 Sam. iv. 2 ff.

[2] Num. x. 35 ; *cf.* xiv. 43 ff. Add such other passages as Num. xiv. 8 ; xxi. 2, 34 ; Josh. vi. 2 ; Judg. i. 1, iii. 2, iv. 7, xiv. 4 ; 1 Sam. ix. 16.

[3] Sometimes, too, conquered foes were mutilated (Judg. i. 6 f.).

[4] *Cf.* p. 28.

[5] See p. 27.

[6] Ex. xxiii. 20 ff. ; *cf.* xxxiv. 11 ff.

[7] See p. 93.

burst into Canaan they still made the primitive identification. It does not fall here to elucidate the religious consequences of the doctrine of the "jealousy" or intolerance of Jehovah, but for the doctrine of society it was capital. The admission of polytheism would have prevented the evolution of the distinctively Hebrew and Christian social theory of a union of mankind in the service of the one God. As in Islam "Jihad" was the outcome of monotheism, so was it in Israel of henotheism. It prepared the way for the doctrine of the solity of God. There is worth in the mud that yields a flower.

The Peace of Hebrew Hope

But the theory of the holiness of war does not exhaust the teaching of the period about the alien. Side by side with it, and sure ultimately to conflict with it, there was an ideal of peace.

In the first place the "Jihad" of Israel was not universal, else she had been as morally barren as Islam. The story tells that in spite of provocation the Hebrews passed round the land of Edom in peace,[1] and the narrative of Balaam implies that they left Moab, too, unattacked.[2] It is not to be supposed that fear of these small peoples held back a race that shortly after flung itself on all Canaan, and, though Edom and Moab were allied to Israel in blood, the Blessings of Isaac and the Songs of Balaam show that this need not have hindered war.[3] Besides, the Amorite on the East of Jordan had no consanguinity with the Hebrew, yet the latter sought peace with him too.[4] The alien as such was not necessarily a foe. Already Israel had passed that mark. The Hebrews' "Jihad" was against the Canaanites alone, and it was waged in behalf of their right to "the Land."[5]

Canaan once won, Israel's aggression ceased until Saul's campaign against Amalek—at least if the Danite "trek" be overlooked. The Book of Judges, save for

[1] Num. xx. 14 ff.
[2] Num. xxii., etc.
[3] Gen. xxvii. 27 ff., 39 f.; Num. xxiv. 17 f.
[4] Num. xxi. 21 ff.
[5] *Cf.* p. 31.

this one episode, is as uniformly a story of defensive war as the Book of Joshua of offensive. Its wars, that is, sought for Israel no more than the peaceful possession of Canaan. This is the implication of the early songs too. Their foreground is war, but at least some of the longer ones have a background of fields and vineyards possessed in peace. That, for instance, is the crowning blessing of Judah and Joseph in Jacob's Song,[1] while even Deborah's finds its point of departure in her people's loss of safety ;[2] Lamech's Song, again, is a poetic justification of war waged in self-defence,[3] and Jacob's denounces the mere "violence" of Simeon and Levi.[4] There is no sign of the love of war for its own sake. Instead Esau, who embodies this spirit, is in Isaac's Blessings made for a while to serve peaceful Jacob—"By thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother."[5] Strange reversal of the almost unanimous opinion of mankind! Similarly the epilogue of the "Book of the Covenant" implies the peaceful possession of Canaan as Israel's final goal.[6] So, too, the very existence of the "freebooter" or professional fighter means that the ryot did not himself love to fight, and, spite the instances of David and Jephthah, the records require that there was already some slur on this calling ;[7] already, too, there were aliens with whom Israel was habitually at peace.[8]

Israel's point of view appears even more clearly in the specimen of early diplomacy put into Jephthah's mouth.[9] It does not affect the present subject that it deals not with Ammon, Jephthah's foe, but with Moab. The whole argument proceeds on the assumption that Moab, Edom, and Israel were each in possession of its god-given and rightful territory and that they ought to leave each other alone. The peaceableness of Israel in particular is em-

[1] Gen. xlix. 11 f., 25 f. ; *cf.* Deut. xxxiii. 28.
[2] Judg. v. 6 f.
[3] Gen. iv. 23.
[4] Gen. xlix. 5 ff.
[5] Gen. xxvii. 40.
[6] Ex. xxiii. 20 ff.
[7] Judg. ix. 4, xi. 3 ; 1 Sam. xxii. 2. Perhaps a distinction may be made, however, between the leaders of bands of freebooters and the "common run" of their followers. Such a distinction has often existed in the history of brigandage.
[8] *e.g.* Judg. i. 16.
[9] Judg. xi. 15 ff.

phasised. It may seem to some only the convention of diplomacy that a negotiator should urge the righteousness of his own cause, but this is to forsake the historical point of view. The freebooter Jephthah's assumption that only just war is justifiable, distinguishes Israel at once from the mere forayer. This people longed to "possess its possessions" in peace, letting its neighbour nations alone, and by them let alone.

Further evidence of the peaceful temper of Israel at this time is its organisation under Elders. This method of government was utterly unsuited to war. The Eldership was an early form of that "government by committee" now so prevalent in Parliament, Councils, and Convocations. It proceeds by discussion and deliberation, and, as these require time, such assemblies are proverbially slow. Battle, however, no more admits delay than does a storm at sea. So armies, like ships, have always been subject to autocracy. In time of war, therefore, the commonwealth of Israel, like that of Rome, betook itself to Dictators. The Elders of Gilead, for instance, were driven to summon Jephthah to their aid against Ammon;[1] the helplessness of a leaderless people gave Saul his chance in the relief of Jabesh;[2] and the double defeat at Ebenezer was probably due to the lack of a recognised captain—the bewildered "Elders of Israel" being only equal to the expedient of sending for the Ark.[3] The repeated "oppressions" of the epoch of the "judges" might have been shortened or even altogether prevented if a leader had not been to seek as each crisis came—yet throughout them the Hebrews clung still to organisation by Eldership without monarchy. Its advantages accrued in peace, its disadvantages in war. Invasion after invasion befell, yet this people still treated each as an intrusion and organised itself as though it expected presently to be let alone! None of all its captains left so permanent a mark upon its history as two men of peace, Moses and Samuel, the one introducing and the other closing the epoch.

[1] Judg. xi. 5 f.
[2] 1 Sam. xi.
[3] 1 Sam. iv. 1 ff.; *cf.* ix. 16.

With each of them war was a "necessary evil." These, and not Ehud or Samson, were the true makers of Israel.

Yet another proof of the peaceful temper of Israel at this time is her treasuring of her Early Ideal. If its origin be no earlier than the age of the "judges," the value of its witness on this point is not less but greater. Israel dreamed of peace in the one way possible when the alien was so usually a foe—by isolation.

Was it altogether a dream? The Book of Judges is a book of wars, but a close examination suggests that its wars were separated by intervals of peace, though there is nothing certainly to show whether the intervals were long or short. The omission of their story is quite in keeping with the ways of early history, for it nowhere says anything of peace. It is likely that upon the Israelite inrush into Canaan there ensued a period in which Hebrew and Canaanite lived side by side in mutual tolerance,[1] and there are several hints, reliable just because obscure, that in normal times travel was safe from one part of Canaan to another.[2] Even on the eastern frontier Balaam is pictured as riding unarmed.[3] Again, the Israel that valued its Eldership could only learn its worth in intervals of peace. It is therefore not hastily to be assumed that the pre-Monarchic epoch—at least between the first years of the invasion of Canaan and the stress of the Philistine war—was one long struggle. Rather, as soon as war became perpetual monarchy ensued. Before that Israel's "oppressions" were probably rather episodes in her history than its tenor. At least she did not love mere war. It is natural that Arthur should be the hero of an age of chivalry, but not that Abraham should seem perfect to a people set on strife. The hope of Israel was peace. Her notion of the respective places of war and peace in national life comes out clearly in two consecutive verses of Moses' Song of the Tribes—"He thrust out the enemy from before thee, and said, Destroy. And Israel dwelleth

[1] See pp. 91 f.
[2] Judg. v. 6, ix. 25, xix. 3, 11; 1 Sam. i. 23 f., ix. 4 ff., x. 2 ff.
[3] Num. xxii. 29.

in safety, The fountain of Jacob alone, In a land of corn and wine, Yea, his heavens drop down dew."[1] A significant word is "alone." In the Canaanite "Jihad" Israel only seemed to have abandoned the Early Ideal; she had still fain been alone and so in peace.

"*The Sojourner within thy Gates*"

Yet peace by isolation cannot be the final ideal, for the world is one and any people's lasting isolation impossible, as Israel inevitably learnt. Besides, the doctrines of "Jihad" and of peace are naturally contradictory. Did Israel at this time take any step towards the solution of the contradiction?

Students of history are not surprised at finding incompatible elements in early thought, for peoples do not think logically. For instance, Hinduism finds room both for asceticism and orgy, Mediæval Christianity added the military to the mendicant orders, the peace-loving Englishman of to-day glories in Trafalgar and Waterloo. Yet gradually history insists on logic, and ultimately only one of two discordant theories survives. Each in turn may have its day, but one finally expels the other. Israel had two warlike epochs, the conquest of Canaan and the early Monarchy,[2] but her love of peace never perished and in the end prevailed. Its slow victory began during the Democracy of Families in the Hebrew treatment of the "sojourner" or "ger."

It is difficult to bring every Old Testament detail about the "ger" into agreement with nomadic custom, but even among nomads there seem to have been differences,[3] and the passage from the nomadic to agricultural life would certainly bring its own changes.[4] What is now in question is the custom not of nomadism, but of early Israel.

[1] Deut. xxiii. 27 f.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 147 f. The present discussion is confined to the Israel of the Old Testament as forerunner of Christianity. If the whole of Hebrew history were considered, the eras of the Maccabees and of the struggle with Rome would have to be added.

[3] *Cf.* Patton, "Blood Revenge in Arabia and Israel" (*American Journal of Theology*, 1901, pp. 711 f.).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 726.

Perhaps the earliest mitigation of universal hostility to aliens was the guest-right of travellers. Among the Semites hospitality was sacred, and under its protection even an enemy was safe. Israel shared this institution with her sister nations.[1] The "ger," however, was not a passing guest, but a man of foreign origin who lived permanently in a settlement and enjoyed a sort of perpetual guest-right.[2] The term, therefore, is better translated "sojourner" than "stranger." A "ger" was under the protection of the people that had received him, and, so far as they could secure it, he was safe.

The identification of a people and a land with a particular god meant usually that the "sojourner" accepted the god of his foster-land.[4] He had left his old god with his old home, and as a matter of course he adopted the god of his new one. So the Gibeonites accepted Jehovah,[5] so David found an Edomite, Doeg, "detained before Jehovah" at Nob,[6] and so the "ger" kept the Sabbath of the Lord.[7] Sometimes, too, he was a fugitive from a blood-feud who had sought sanctuary at the altar of a strange god.

The documents assume that in Israel, as among all Semitic peoples, the "ger" was sure of safety, but this is only the first of rights. For all others the newcomer was at his protectors' mercy, and probably different peoples treated him differently. In the historical parts of the Old Testament the context of the terms "sojourn" and "sojourner" continually implies helplessness.[8] The "Book of the Covenant" and the Decalogue both require that he was an inferior member of a Hebrew household, for they name him with the bond-servants and the cattle.[9]

[1] *e.g.* Gen. xviii. 2, xix. 1.

[2] *Cf.* "ger" in Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," and Robertson Smith, "Religion of Semites," pp. 75 ff.

[3] See Driver on Deut. x. 19, in the "International Critical Commentary."

[4] Robertson Smith, "Religion of Semites," p. 77. In later days an influential or numerous body of "sojourners," like the Jews at Elephantine, might erect a temple to their old god in a strange land (*cf.* 1 Kings xi. 7 f.; 2 Kings v. 17), but this does not invalidate the early rule.

[5] Josh. ix. 27.

[6] 1 Sam. xxi. 7.

[7] Ex. xx. 10, xxiii. 12.

[8] *e.g.* Ex. ii. 22; Judg. xvii. 8, xix. 16 ff.

[9] Ex. xxiii. 12, xx. 10.

Two other edicts imply that he was an easy prey.[1] A full investigation of the subject of work would show that normally he was a "hireling."

Yet the passages in the codes require also that the "ger," just because of his helplessness, was under the special protection of Jehovah. He shared with the widow, the orphan, and the poor, the peculiar care of the Lord—"A sojourner shalt thou not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him";[2] the Sabbath was enacted for him rather as a right than a privilege—"that he may be refreshed";[3] and this added instance of the humanitarianism of Hebrew law based explicitly on sympathy—"Ye know the heart of a sojourner, seeing ye were sojourners in the land of Egypt."[4] The treatment of the "ger" in all nations, but especially in Israel, made a first inroad on the creed that an alien has no rights. When the damsel from Moab "fell on her face" before Boaz, calling herself not so much as a "sojourner" but only an "alien," he answered, "The Lord recompense thy work, and a full reward be given thee of *the Lord, the God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to take refuge.*"[5]

But of what race was the "ger"? It is sometimes assumed that he would be an Edomite, a Moabite, or a Philistine. It is certain that there were "gerim" of these races, but they were probably few, too few to account for the early law-codes' assumption that the Hebrew farmer would of course have to do with "sojourners." There were three normal reasons in those days why a man forsook his own kindred—famine, flight, commerce. But famine in one part of the little Palestinian world would often mean famine throughout it, and to "sojourn" then would be no escape, while the trader was generally a mere passer-by. Most "sojourners" chose their hard lot from the necessity of flight—they were refugees.[6] And Israel had neighbours nearer than the Edomite and Philistine who were oftener refugees—the Canaanites.

[1] Ex. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9; *cf.* Gen. xxxi. 7 ff.
[2] Ex. xxii. 21 ff.
[3] Ex. xxiii. 12.
[4] Ex. xxiii. 9; *cf.* xxii. 21.
[5] Ruth ii. 10 ff.
[6] *Cf.* 2 Sam. iv. 3.

It is now certain that Israel, beginning with a "Jihad" against the Canaanites, ended by amalgamating with them.[1] The stages in the change can be more or less clearly distinguished. The Israelites meant at first to exterminate the "inhabitants of the land" at one fell swoop.[2] When this proved impossible, they fell back upon the method of extermination "by little and little."[3] A delayed extermination, however, often leads to a toleration that is meant only to be temporary but tends to become permanent. For a while the two races divided the land between them. A traveller might easily find himself at nightfall within reach both of a Canaanite and a Hebrew settlement.[4] For long almost every Israelite village would be within a few hours' walk of an alien city, and the relation between them would be uneasy peace with intervals of war. They were constant competitors for "the Land." In the long run exclusive possession fell to neither, for the two races coalesced, but the ultimately dominant partner was Israel and the character of the mixed people distinguishably Hebrew. No one calls David's a Canaanite kingdom; the united races worshipped the Israelites' God.[5]

The reasons for this predominance were several. While Israel held together, the Canaanites seem only once—under Jabin and Sisera—to have attempted a united effort, and then it failed; for the rest, the Canaanite cities, each with its surrounding hamlets or "daughters,"[6] tried to hold out alone, and they seem most of them to have succumbed as the years passed to Israel. The process was probably slowest in the North, whence Jabin came.

[1] "The Israelites were not numerous; they were perhaps a minority in Palestine" (Foakes-Jackson, "Social Organisation of Israel," in *The Interpreter*, Jan. 1913, p. 173).

[2] Josh. vi. 21, viii. 26, x. 19.

[3] Ex. xxiii. 30.

[4] Judg. xix. 10 ff.

[5] That Canaanite religious practices deeply influenced Hebrew cult does not make it untrue that Jehovah became the one national God. Conquered and conquerors always influence each other, but conquest is not therefore to be denied. And the Prophets at last rescued a "remnant" from the influence as well as the names of the Canaanite gods.

[6] *e.g.* Judg. i. 27.

There, indeed, Issachar seems for a time to have submitted to Canaanite dominion,[1] and the settlements of Asher and Naphthali to have been fewer than the aliens',[2] yet even in the North, "when Israel was waxen strong," she reduced the Canaanites to "task-work."[3] This is the burden of the account of the Conquest thought by some peculiarly ancient.

Probably, however, the disintegration of the Canaanite cities was not altogether the work of their war with Israel. Their civilisation had become too corrupt to live,[4] and gradually their isolated cities would perish of decline. Further, the Philistine attack, whenever it befell, would not distinguish Canaanite from Hebrew settlements, and its brunt would first fall on the former, for on the whole the Canaanite held the valleys and the Hebrew the hills. Yet not the Canaanites but the Hebrews rallied to meet Philistia, and probably on her attack many of the cities of the ancient "inhabitants of the land" perished. Only a few Canaanite strongholds, such as Jebus and Gezer,[5] maintained their independence till the days of the Hebrew kings.

At all stages of this process there would be Canaanites knocking at the doors of Hebrew settlements. The fugitive from a city's ruin, the servant under "task-work" who fled afield to better himself, the dwindling remnant of the citizens of a city wasted by vice, all would seek shelter in the virile Hebrew villages on the hills. And these received them. This was the easier because the two races used practically the same language. Like the Roman and the English, the great Israelite race was of motley origin. In many Hebrew houses there were Canaanite

[1] Gen. xlix. 14 f.

[2] Judg. i. 32 f. These two tribes "dwelt among the Canaanites," whereas in other cases (*e.g. v.* 30) the Canaanites "dwelt among" the Hebrews.

[3] Judg. i. 27 ff. This can hardly mean at this epoch employment on public works, but rather that the toil of the fields and other menial tasks fell to the Canaanites (*cf.* Deut. xxix. 11; Josh. ix. 23). The settlements of two distinct races, the one dominant and the other servile, have existed side by side in South India for two millenniums. The "pariah" does the "task-work" of the "caste" folk.

[4] *Cf.* p. 31.

[5] 2 Sam. v. 6 ff.; 1 Kings ix. 16.

"gerim," helpless but protected.[1] Israel received and even welcomed its old foes.

But this welcome meant the victory of Jehovah. For the Canaanite "ger" was a refugee, not in a foreign land, but in his own, and, as he could still follow his old cult if he cared to walk to the nearest of its surviving shrines, probably he would not so readily as other "gerim" adopt the Hebrews' God, yet only on this condition was he to be received. This explains the juxtaposition in the "Book of the Covenant" of one of the most ruthless and one of the most humane of Israel's laws—"He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, shall be death-devoted. And a sojourner shalt thou not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him: for ye were sojourners in the land of Egypt."[2] Israel was to put religion before mercy, duty to God before love to man. On the other hand, the "ger" who came to "take refuge under the wings" of Israel's God was specially His care.[3] Then and thus an enemy became a friend, an alien a neighbour. Religion began to break down the barriers of race and to teach Israel peace with the very peoples of its old "Jihad." Isolation ceased to be the only way to peace. The first step was taken towards the concept of a union of the earth's nations under one God, for this kind of peace includes that very intolerance of other gods that was the element of worth in the old Jihad. The Hebrew learnt that the Lord, "man of war" though He was against other gods, yet might be a peace-maker with other peoples. Here was the basis of universal brotherhood.

Section G.—Speech: A Double Morality

The Ninth Commandment and the Third both deal with speech. Both forbid perjury. It is a striking illus-

[1] Occasionally, however, a Canaanite family's prosperity survived the fall of its city (2 Sam. xxiv. 16 ff.), and no doubt Canaanites sometimes passed slowly into full Israelite citizenship without becoming either "task-workers" or "gerim," but it is the doctrine of the last that is important for social theory. A "ger" of Hebrew origin might become "as one of [the householder's] sons" (Judg. xvii. 11).

[2] Ex. xxii. 20 f.

[3] See pp. 90 f. *Cf.* Browning's "Instans Tyrannus."

tration of the early connexion of sociology with religion that among primitive peoples perjury, a lie to a god, is the first recognised abuse of speech. Not only must promises made direct to him be kept, but, if he be brought into undertakings between two men, these thereby become binding too. Whether or not originally the ground of respect for an oath was merely that a god could not be so easily deceived as a man, here is the root of the virtue of truthfulness. Outside the oath the East still holds that "a lie is the salt of a man!" He must keep a promise or tell the truth if an oath bind him; else he may do as he likes! The distinction lasted long even in Christendom. William of Normandy, for instance, thought to bind Harold to a promise by pledging him unawares over the bones of saints. Indeed the distinction is not even yet extinct. "The positive duty [of truthfulness] resulting from one man's reliance on the word of another is among the slowest conquests of advancing civilization." [1]

Either of two fates may befall the distinction between vow and ordinary speech. Among peoples whose belief in religion grows less and less effective, the oath itself will more and more be used to garnish a lie, while races who retain a living belief in a living god, will slowly come to see that he requires truth even when his name is not invoked. A Parsi broker, lying to the writer, at length adjured the name of Jesus Christ to bolster his falsehood; on the other hand, within Christendom an honourable man's word is his bond.

The sacredness of the oath in early Israel is quite clear. Promises made direct to God were of course binding.[2] There are also several instances of the use of the "oath of the Lord" to secure truth in human transactions, but none of its being broken.[3] By it Joshua extorted Achan's guilty confession and Eli won the child Samuel's innocent one; Joshua's pledge to the Gibeonites held

[1] Maine, "Ancient Law," chap. ix.

[2] Gen. xxi. 22 ff., xxiv. 2 ff., xxvi. 27 ff., xxxi. 44 ff., l. 25; Judg. xi. 30; 1 Sam. i. 11.

[3] Ex. xxii. 11; Josh. ii. 12 ff., vii. 19, ix. 15 ff.; Judg. xv. 12, xxi 18; 1 Sam. iii. 17; Ruth i. 17.

in spite of their own deceit, as did Abraham's promise to the alien Abimelech, and Jephthah's vow for all its sad consequences; the "Book of the Covenant" appealed in a doubtful question to "the oath of Jehovah."[1] Some of these instances illustrate the early confusion of "form" with "substance."[2] The story of Saul's ban at Michmash[3] perhaps gives a first hint of the revolt of the conscience against this "literalism"; to save Jonathan "the people" set oath against oath.[4] For completeness it may be added that Joseph, swearing not by Jehovah but by "the life of Pharaoh," did not literally keep his word.[5]

Outside the oath, however, there was a variable morality. A brother Israelite had a right to the truth, but not an enemy or that potential enemy, an alien. In other words, with those who worshipped Jehovah, the tribal God, truth was altogether binding, but with none else. The threefold story of a Patriarch's pretending that his wife was his sister, shows this,[6] for the narrative obviously justifies the lie. So again, Moses' plea that Pharaoh would "let the people go" that they might "hold a feast" unto the Lord in the Wilderness,[7] was not altogether candid; Rahab's lie to her own people in behalf of Israel was held justfiable;[8] Deborah exulted in Jael's abuse of an alien's trust;[9] Samson's mistake with Delilah was not that he lied, but that he did not lie enough;[10] and there is in the Hebrew historian's account of the Gibeonites' fraud the relish of a rival's admiration for a successful practitioner.[11] An alien then, like a foe to-day, had no right to the truth.

On the other hand, Jacob's deceit of his father and brother is condemned even though there was in it no breaking of oath. What of the "neighbour," however, who was neither brother nor alien? The Ninth Com-

[1] Ex. xxii. 11. [2] *Cf.* pp. 66 f. [3] 1 Sam. xiv.
[4] It is also possible, however, that they only saved Jonathan by providing a human substitute.
[5] Gen. xlii. 15 f., 24. [6] Gen. xii., xx., xxvi.
[7] Ex. v. 1, x. 9; *cf.* i. 19. [8] Josh. ii. 4.
[9] Judg. v. 24 ff.; *cf.* iv. 17 ff.
[10] Judg. xvi. 7 ff. [11] Josh. ix. 3 ff.

mandment, in contrast with the Third, forbade perjury as an injury, not to God, but to a "neighbour." It is possible that its prohibition applied only to sworn legal evidence, yet the "Book of the Covenant" seems to surpass this narrow limit, for, with edicts against false witness and unjust judgements, it includes general precepts—"Thou shalt not take up a false report. . . . Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil. . . . Keep thee far from a false matter."[1] Behind these paragraphs there lies the picture of the simple village society, where the street gossip against some unpopular inhabitant readily swells into the clamour of a mob before the Elders "in the gate." How easily a neighbour's sly word in the ear one minute might commit its repeater the next to a downright assertion in the primitive court! A true neighbour must avoid any complicity in such wrong.[2] Elsewhere, too, this code requires that to "deal deceitfully" is to merit loss.[3] Besides, this is just one of the places where a righteous man's practice would exceed the limit of law. A neighbour, unlike an alien or a foe, had a right to the truth. Here he ranked with a brother.

Section H.—The Pre-Monarchic Position

This part of the Old Testament contrasts with the patriarchal story in five inter-related ways—the ideal gave way to the actual; agriculture superseded wandering; the family developed into the nation; for one isolated home there were many neighbouring homes; the alien could no longer be ignored. Each of these changes brought its own social problems, yet in the main the ancient ideal persisted. Israel's was still a family ideal; it required freedom and prosperity for every family, as for the whole nation; throughout an era in which war was frequent and only a warrior-God of any service Israel's heart cherished a longing for peace; the passing of the perfect men brought the need for law, but its purpose was

[1] Ex. xxiii. 1 f., 6 ff. [2] *Cf.* p. 51. [3] Ex. xxi. 8.

not to supersede freedom but to educate men in it. Behind all the limitations imposed by circumstance and sin, the patriarchal home remained the Hebrews' ideal.

Its definition, however, was not stationary; under the impulse of new problems it developed. The multiplication of households made Israel a democracy of theoretically equal families. This carried with it two new relations—that of the family to the state, and of families to each other. The one evoked the virtue of patriotism, the other of neighbourliness. The former included responsibility, not only for the nation's safety, but for its material and moral welfare, while the latter recognised the principle of equity and the duty of benevolence. Both equity and benevolence involve the limitation of one's own liberty and prosperity on behalf of a neighbour's. Every development proceeded under the Israelite's characteristic impulse of religion. A first step was taken towards the admission of the rights of the alien, if he accepted the Hebrews' God.

Certain questions, however, remained unresolved. Three of them were to receive answers in the next period. Of these one had already been asked and had long pressed for resolution, the other two were still latent. The first was the problem of rule. Here the local authority of the Elders and the intermittent sway of the "judges" postponed but did not prevent the coming of monarchy. The other two problems were the related ones of the city and of commerce. As will appear in the next Chapter, these emerged in Israel contemporaneously with kingship. It will be found, too, that through them there was progress towards individualism.

A remark may here be added about the Decalogue. The social doctrine of pre-Monarchic Israel has been discussed for the most part without its quotation because its date is disputed, but a retrospect will show that, whether promulgated or not, it was already involved in Hebrew social theory. The principles of which it is the clear exponent already underlay the whole sociology of Israel. The First and Second Commandments lay down the religious axiom on which all Hebrew social teaching rests;

the Section on " Speech " above expounds the Third and Ninth ; the Fourth embodies a principal illustration of Israel's humanitarianism ; the discussion of " the Family Unit " involved the Fifth ; the Sixth is implied in the Section on the " Neighbour " ; the Seventh and Eighth would have found illustration if the subjects of property and womanhood had been included ; the Tenth describes on one side the temper of a people who obey law uncoerced. Those who ascribe the Ten Words to the Prophets of the eighth century before Christ must admit that their authors only gave explicit form to what had long been implicit in the current standard of Hebrew behaviour. Whether the gold had been extracted or not, it was there.

CHAPTER III

ISRAEL UNDER THE KINGS: THE PRINCIPLE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

The Old Village and the New City.—The Problem of a Complex Society.—A Fourfold Righteousness.—The Principle of Accommodation.—The Responsibility of Privilege.—An Epitome from Ezekiel.

Section A.—The Old Village and the New City

The Harvest of the Past

The next Hebrew period, the Monarchy, lasted for about five hundred years. It was the greatest epoch of Israel and its story fills a large part of the Old Testament. The foreground of its histories, both in the North and the South, is filled by the king and the city. It will appear below that around these a new set of social phenomena grew, with large issues for the doctrine of society, but it needs first to be noted that this new foreground had an old background. Behind the city there lay a multitude of villages of the old agricultural type; behind the king and the citizen the "people of the land."[1] The cities of Israel, as of all the East, lived on the country. The villages supplied the city's population, for its birth-rate was always below its death-rate.[2] Its food came from the villagers' fields. Its revenue depended chiefly upon their taxation. The village was still the foundation of the Hebrew State, and it has left its own mark upon the literature of the time. Two books in particular, which often complement each other, represent the beliefs of the ryots of Israel in the

[1] A few of the passages that imply this, drawn from the historical books only, may be given: 1 Sam. xiv. 14, xvi. 11, xxiii. 1, xxv. 2, 18, xxvii. 9, xxx. 20; 2 Sam. xii. 2 f., xiv. 30, xxi. 9; 1 Kings xix. 19, xxi. 1; 2 Kings iii. 4, iv. 18, v. 26, x. 12, xviii. 31 f., xix. 29.

[2] Robertson Smith, "Religion of Semites," p. 12.

days of the Monarchy—Deuteronomy and Proverbs. A great part of the latter book consists of the "wise saws" of the country folk of Israel. The industrious farmer is its model man. Deuteronomy is unmistakably oratory. It is a preaching book, and it fulfils the *rôle* of most preachers—it states for the hearer his own belief better than he can state it himself. And the hearers it contemplates are countrymen. Its "cases" are villagers' "cases"; its promises are agricultural; its woes cumulate the curses of the "field." Like the Lombard Code of Rotharis it survived an alien environment.[1] Promulgated in a city, it is a countryman's book, and it is therefore a conservative book. For in Israel under the Kings the country stood for the old, the city for the new. Deuteronomy, at any rate in its social teaching, hardly faces a single new problem or puts forward a single new idea. Yet it is not merely stationary. It elucidates and applies further the old ideas of Israel. It is the vintage of the past age. It best illustrates, therefore, the persistence of the old Ideal of Israel during the Monarchy. Almost every element of social theory distinguished in the last Chapter could be exemplified from Deuteronomy and Proverbs. Three of the more important may be named.

The old Hebrew doctrine of Providence continued. This presupposed that prosperity is a good thing, and asserted that Jehovah would surely give it to the Israelite who did His will. This doctrine is just the text of both the books named. The distinction of the proverbs of Israel is not that they teach the way to "get on" in life, for this is a characteristic common to all proverbial literature, but that they insist that the way to "get on" is to do the will of God. While English proverbs, for instance, rarely name God, the term "the Lord" occurs forty times in the two chief Hebrew collections.[2] A single passage will represent Deuteronomy. The rolling

[1] "The Edictum Rotharis is a very primitive body of legislation, such as might have been promulgated in the depths of the German forests, instead of in the heart of Italy. . . . There is hardly any mention either of things ecclesiastical or of city life" (Oman, "The Dark Ages," p. 197).

[2] Prov. x. 1–xxii. 16, xxv.–xxix.

eloquence of its climax proclaims the weal of obedience and the woe of apostasy.[1] In this matchless passage the multitude of blessings seems to have exhausted the wealth of speech, but the cumulated curse surpasses even it! The day was to come in Israel, as elsewhere, when the problem of the adversity of the righteous should arise, but these two books do not even suspect its existence. To farmers, as to sailors, the dependence of prosperity on Providence is peculiarly clear, and in a peaceful agricultural settlement there are few exceptions to the rule that prosperity follows frugal virtue and adversity wanton vice. For the Hebrew ryot a wicked man was a "fool," and when he wanted to say that a man was prosperous, he said "The Lord is with him."

Again, the so-called "humanitarianism" of Israel developed. The Book of Deuteronomy is often quoted to illustrate this. For instance, while the practice of human sacrifice obtained among neighbouring peoples right to the close of the Jewish Monarchy, and even later,[2] it was already extinct among the Hebrews. In the preceding period it had still been possible, though it was probably rare, that a Hebrew father should sacrifice a child to Jehovah,[3] but by the time of the Deuteronomist the custom had been so long dead that he could point to it as the last horror of Canaanite worship, while by the end of the Monarchy Jeremiah could add, "Which I [the Lord] commanded not, neither came it into My mind."[4] In other words, the peculiarity of Israel here, as compared with its neighbours, was not that it had never known the practice, but that it outgrew it. Again, it would be possible to show that Deuteronomy illustrates the development of the idea of duty to the poor. It and Proverbs are just the two books of the Monarchy that recognise their existence! And they go on to inculcate the giving

[1] Deut. xxviii.

[2] 2 Kings iii. 27, xvi. 3, xvii. 17, 31, xxi. 6, xxiii. 10; Jer. xix. 4, xxxii. 35.

[3] See p. 79; *cf.* Ezek. xx. 26.

[4] Deut. xii. 31; Jer. vii. 31; *cf.* Mic. vi. 7; Deut. xviii. 10; Ezek. xvi. 20 f., and, for the post-Monarchic period, Lev. xx. 2 ff.; Is. lvii. 5; *cf.* p. 197, footnote 3. For 1 Sam. xiv. see pp. 80 f., 96.

of what are now called "alms." But this subject belongs to the wider doctrine of property and wealth, here omitted. Similarly, the mitigation of the bondman's lot begun in the previous period,[1] can be traced further in Deuteronomy, but this belongs to another reserved subject, toil. Another illustration, however, will bring out better than either of these the peculiarity of Hebrew kindliness. What does Deuteronomy say about the "ger"?

It has been seen above that the majority of the "gerim" were Canaanites.[2] The books of the Monarchy bear this out.[3] Yet, while Deuteronomy sternly demands the extermination of the Canaanites,[4] it uniformly requires that mercy be shown to the "gerim"![5] What is the explanation of the inconsistency?

The Deuteronomic command that the Canaanites should be exterminated was not practical. It was really a theory of what Israel ought to have done centuries before, not a behest for the Deuteronomist's own day. In the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ it would have been as impossible to distinguish and slay all those of alien descent as to-day in England all those of Welsh. Even a David was descended from a Ruth. The Deuteronomist's insistence, however, that the men of old time ought to have made "a full end" of the Canaanites has a clearly stated and reiterated reason. Both in this book and in the Deuteronomic "framework" of Joshua and Judges, the Hebrews are continually warned against the gods of Canaan.[6] Wise after the event, the Deuteronomists saw that it was Canaanite influence that had sometimes drawn Israel away altogether from Jehovah and

[1] See p. 36. [2] See pp. 91 f.

[3] Judg. iii. 6; 1 Sam. xxi. 7, xxii. 9, xxvi. 6, xxx. 13 f.; 2 Sam. i. 8, 14, v. 6 ff., vi. 10, xi. 3, xv. 19-22, xvii. 25 (mg.), xviii. 21, xxi. 2, xxiv. 16; 1 Kings ix. 20 f.; Hos. vii. 8. For Deut. see passages in the next note, with Deut. xxix. 11; Josh. viii. 33, 35, ix. 21 ff.

[4] Deut. vii. 1 ff., 16, xx. 17.

[5] Deut. i. 16, x. 18 f., xiv. 21, 29, xvi. 11, 14, xxiv. 14, 17, 19 ff., xxvi. 11, 13, xxvii. 19, xxviii. 43 f., xxix. 11; *cf.* Jer. vii. 6, xxii. 3; Ezek. xxii. 7, 29. Jer. xiv. 8 is perhaps the most poignant expression of the hard lot of the "sojourner."

[6] Deut. vii. 4, 16, xii. 29 ff., xviii. 14, xxxii. 21; Josh. xxiii. 12 f.; Judg. ii. 11 ff., iii. 4 ff., vi. 10, x. 6; *cf.* Hos. iv. 18 (LXX), xii. 7 (mg.).

sometimes degraded His worship into that of the old Baals of the land. Their task was to repurify "Jahvism," and they denounced the ancient Canaanites as the cause of all Israel's ills. The "gerim" of their own time, on the other hand, accepted Jehovah,[1] and the Deuteronomists recognised that as His worshippers they had equal rights with the Hebrews born. In other words, the relation to God was primary, and a Hebrew's treatment of his fellows ought to depend on it. The word "humanitarianism" suggests kindliness *per se*. In Deuteronomy kindliness is always part of religion, and the whole controls the part.

"Thou shalt love"

The issue of this connexion for the prophetic doctrine of mercy will appear below,[2] but it leads also to the third illustration of the way in which Deuteronomy elucidated Israel's past. The greatest text in Deuteronomy is this—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might."[3] The dominant word is "love." Its history in the Old Testament is remarkable.[4]

Its earliest use is of family life and of friends. It might be supposed that love would thence naturally extend its scope in the realm of men—including first a whole village, then a whole nation, and at last all mankind—but this was not its story. The process was a more complex one. The second use of the term was of God's love for man, and the third of man's consequent love for God. Deuteronomy continually connects these two. The relation of the Patriarchs to God had been friendship, and in all the dealings of the later leaders of Israel with Him there had been devotion, but the great term that explains both does not occur till Deuteronomy. "Thou shalt love the Lord

[1] Deut. v. 14, xvi. 11, 15; Josh. viii. 33 (D), and see pp. 93 f. This is *implied* in almost every mention of the "sojourner" in Deuteronomy. *Cf.* 2 Sam. xi. 11, xv. 19, 21, xxi. 2, 6, xxiv. 16, 23; Amos ix. 12; Is. ix. 1, xvii. 9 (mg.); Ezek. xiv. 7; Jer. xii. 16, xxxviii. 7 ff., xxxix. 15 ff.

[2] See p. pp. 159 ff.

[3] Deut. vi. 5.

[4] See Additional Note 4, where the authorities are quoted for the different statements that follow.

thy God with all thy heart"—the secret of the centuries gone was spelt at last. The second "great commandment," "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," did not work itself clear till at least three hundred years later,[1] and then it grew, not directly from love of home, but from love of God. The term for "love" is not once clearly used of the general love of one's neighbours in the whole literature of the Monarchy! In Israel it was from the Divine fatherhood that man learnt that they were brothers; religion gradually grew into social theory.

This has an important bearing on the concept of law. All that was said above[2] about the earlier law of Israel is true also of the Deuteronomic—it still served for instruction, for arbitration, for coercion;[3] it was still an instrument needful because of sin and the usual motive to obedience was still fear;[4] it still blent religion, equity, and humanity. But now first law was in set terms linked with love. It is well known that in the Monarchic period the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God began to appear.[5] A true father may exact obedience through fear, but only to win it at last wholly from love. So the Deuteronomist in a single breath appeals to Israel child-wise both to fear and to love the Lord.[6] So, again, one of his sayings is—"Thou shalt consider in thine heart that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee."[7] So, finally, he ventures on home's magnificent contradiction

[1] See p. pp. 206 ff..

[2] See pp. 54 ff.

[3] *e.g.* as instruction, Deut. vi. 4 ff., viii. 1, xi. 1 ff., 18 ff., xxxi. 9 ff., xxxii. 2; Josh. i. 7 ff., viii. 34 f.; as arbitration (involving the principle of restitution), 2 Sam. xii. 6; Deut. xvii. 8 ff., xix. 19 ff., xxiii. 24 f.; as coercing by punishment, 2 Sam. xii. 5 f.; Deut. xiii. 59, xvii. 5, 12, xxiv. 7.

[4] *e.g.* Deut. v. 29, vi. 2, 24, x. 20; so in Proverbs, "the fear of the Lord" (fourteen times)—and not love for Him—is the constant description of the religious motive.

[5] A fatherhood, however, not of all men, nor of individual men, but of Israel, *e.g.* Hos. xi. 1-4 (*cf.* xiv. 3); Is. i. 2, xxx. 19; Deut. i. 31, viii. 5, xxxii. 5 f., 18 ff. (*cf.* 11); Jer. iii. 4, 19, xxxi. 9, 20 (*cf.* ii. 27). Only in 2 Sam. vii. 14; Ps. ii. 7, 12, is there the idea of Jehovah's fatherhood of an individual and then only of Israel's King as representing his people.

[6] Deut. x. 12; *cf.* Hos. xi. 1 ff.; Is. xxx. 9; Jer. iii. 4. So law is regarded as blessing (*e.g.* Hos. viii. 12; Is. viii. 20), and the loss of it put among the chief sorrows of captive Israel (Lam. ii. 9).

[7] Deut. viii. 5.

and commands the love that is beyond command—" Thou shalt love the Lord thy God." [1] Here is the master instance of Deuteronomy's revelation of early Israel's subconscious principles. It first enunciated in set terms the final concept that the love of God is to be the sovereign motive in human life.

The Coming of King and City

Israel, however, was now faced with new social problems as well as with old. These grew up around the king and the city. Of the two the king came first. As seen above, Israel had at last to betake herself to Monarchy to save herself both from enemies without and disorders within. The king was at once supreme captain and supreme judge. But with the king came the city. This was at first the royal stronghold,[2] but it quickly became far more. For with the king went the Court. This tended continually to grow, as a comparison of Saul's small retinue with the administrative, judicial and household officials of later times, would show.[3] Again, since in the East riches always go with power, the city became a natural centre of wealth and luxury. With these there followed the differentiation of callings. In the old Hebrew village each family had tended to be its own " all in all." It tilled its own land, spun its own clothes, milked its own kine, and so on. In the city it was far otherwise. It was the realm of the expert. It had citizens who did nothing but fight, others who did nothing but trade, others who gave themselves to what is now called " the civil service," others who followed a single kind of handicraft. In the records of the preceding epoch it is difficult to discern the man of " specialised " skill at all, in those of the Monarchy he is everywhere.[4] Other phenomena accompany this one. Citizens are far less independent of each other than villagers. The latter need each other's help chiefly in

[1] Deut. vi. 5. [2] 2 Sam. v. 9.

[3] *Cf.* 1 Sam. xiv. 50, 52; 2 Sam. viii. 15-18; 1 Kings iv. 1-19, and see Additional Note 6, *d* and *e*.

[4] See Additional Note 6.

the rare hazard of war, the former in the daily routine of peace. The professional soldier must get his victuals from other men, and the carpenter his clothes ; the king's scribe does not build his own house nor the merchant shear his own sheep. A city's unity is more complex than a village's. It is naturally interdependent. This means, again, that it lives by exchange, for each expert must barter his own product for those of others. So the epoch of the city is the epoch of money. The use of money first became common in Israel under the Kings. With exchange, of course, came competition.[1] This was as natural in Jerusalem as co-operation in the old agricultural village. A community may be at once interdependent and competitive ! Finally, a city lends itself to the development of individualism. Its whole life is apt, not to the action of families as wholes, but to the enterprises of single men. Jerusalem was a contrast, alike in origin, in organisation, in purpose, in size, and in habit, to the old Hebrew village.

The Prophets of the Monarchy

It will be seen that, if the king and the city are to be separated, the coming of the city meant more for the social development of Israel than the coming of the king. Its importance, indeed, is so great that some of its phenomena need to be more fully set out than in the summary of the last paragraph. This is done in the next Section. But it is already obvious that with the Monarchy a fate befell Israel that commonly overtakes progressive simple races. The old ideal and the new conditions were sure to fight for the mastery. On the one side strove the influence of a more developed civilisation, of a more splendid art, of a "pushful" commerce, ultimately of the suzerainty of alien empires. Against these waged the old temper of the Hebrew people as expressed in its customs, its law, and its religion. The contest was unequal, and, but for a yet unnamed factor, it would probably have ended

[1] *Cf.* Maine, "Ancient Law," chap. v. (end).

altogether as such conflicts have ended elsewhere—the modern would have vanquished the ancient, the developed excluded the simple—a temporary splendour would have succeeded a homely strength, only to perish of decay—and Israel would have meant no more for the world than many another ancient race. But she had her Prophets. These must be added to the king, the Court, the city, and the "people of the land," in the list of the elements of the nation at this time. And for social theory they are far the most important.

The Prophets of Israel did not merely represent the ancient ideal, though, with the country folk from whose midst so many of them came and to some degree with the priests, they were no doubt conservative in temper. But, if they had been only *laudatores temporis acti*, their protest had been like Cato's at Rome but a brave failure. The Prophets accepted the new conditions as inevitable and indeed as providential. Samuel, their line's founder, created the Monarchy, and Isaiah, perhaps the greatest of them all, saved the city. But, while they accepted the new conditions, they insisted that the spirit of Jehovah should dominate the new as it had dominated the old. They preached a king after God's heart, a city after His model, and, when world politics drew Israel into their orbit, even a world that should do His will. It is not an accident that the line of Israel's greater Prophets accompanied that of her kings. They demanded that the kingdom should be the Kingdom of the Lord.

It is true that they did not altogether succeed. For the most part, indeed, their story is that of a protest. In Northern Israel they altogether failed, and there the usual decay of nations may be fully traced, while in Judah the only trophy of their success was the rescue of a "remnant." This period, that is, contrasts with the previous one in this also—that in it the bulk of the nation fell fatally below its recognised ideal. The divorce of precept and practice was for the majority complete. But a minority cherished the message of the Prophets, and this "remnant," surviving both Monarchy and Captivity, handed on a living ideal

to bless the world. The oustanding mark of the social doctrine of Israel under the Kings was the enunciation and survival of the Prophets' master principle of Righteousness.

Section B.—The Problem of a Complex Society

The Old Social Units

For the doctrine of society the outstanding feature of the Monarchy was the new complexity in men's relations to each other. This may best be studied by an examination of the units of society at the time. While these units included those of the preceding epoch, they added to their number in distinctive ways.

During the pre-Davidic period four such units had been effective in common thought—the family, the village, the tribe, and the nation. How did they fare under the Kings?

The tribe, though probably the oldest of all social units, had earlier begun gradually to take a subordinate place.[1] The only hints of its practical effectiveness under the Monarchy fall in the brief period before the founding of Jerusalem.[2] After this the name of a man's tribe sank into an interesting detail of family history.

The village, on the other hand, as has been seen (A), maintained itself throughout the Monarchy. Of the old social units it suffered least change through the passage from the ancient democracy to kingship. It was still a Democracy of Families, a confederacy of equal homes, and its government was still by the counsel of its Elders.[3]

[1] See pp. 46 f.

[2] That is, apart from the priestly tribe of Levi. Benjamin acted as a separate tribe in support of its tribesman Saul and his house (1 Sam. xxii. 7; 2 Sam. ii. 15; *cf.* ii. 25, iii. 19, xix. 16 f.), and Judah of its tribesman David (1 Sam. xxx. 26; 2 Sam. ii. 4, v. 5; *cf.* xix. 11, and 1 Kings i. 9). It is possible, too, that Solomon exempted Judah, as the royal tribe, from tribute (1 Kings iv.). The schism that threatened after his reign, however, was not into several tribes of the old sort, but into two nations. Benjamites are described as belonging to Ephraim in a document usually supposed almost as early as David's own time (2 Sam. xix. 16, 20, xx. 1, 21).

[3] *e.g.* 1 Sam. xvi. 4, xxx. 27 ff.; 2 Sam. ii. 4 f.; 1 Kings xxi. 8. The Elders even survived in the Exile (Ezek. xxii. 29; *cf.* vii. 17, viii. 1, xiv. 1).

Only, above the Elders there was now the superior authority of the king. Probably, however, the less a village needed him, the happier it thought itself. Israel was now, like modern India, a country of many villages and a few cities. The scantiness of the villages' history witnesses not to their unimportance but their changelessness. They had as little history and as great value as daily bread.

The family had been the leading unit in the society of the preceding epoch,[1] and within the villages it would still maintain this pre-eminence under the Kings. But in the city its position was different. For, as already hinted, the city is the opportunity of the individual. Still, every individual needs support amid its competition, and his relatives are his natural allies. Further, if generations be taken into account, even in a city the families that best practise mutual help are most likely to survive and prosper. In the days of the Hebrew Monarchy, therefore, as indeed in all the epochs of all civilised societies, the family must have played an important, if inconspicuous, part. As the documents fully show,[2] though it no longer held the primary place among the units of society, it still held a chief one.

Of the old units there remains the nation. During the Monarchy it outlived three disintegrating influences—the final inclusion of multitudes of Canaanites in the Hebrew race, the schism between the North and the South, and the impact of the empires of Assyria and Babylon. The last is best discussed in another relation.[3] For the other

[1] See pp. 34 ff, 70 ff.

[2] The following passages illustrate in various ways the importance of the family as a social unit under the Monarchy: 1 Sam. ii. 29 ff., xviii. 18, xx. 6, 16, 29, 42, xxii. 1, 3 ff., 11, 19, xxiv. 21, xxv. 17, 22, xxvii. 3; 2 Sam. ii. 3, iii. 1, vii. 16, ix. 1 ff., xii. 10, xiv. 7, xv. 16, xviii. 18, xxi. 1 ff., xxiv. 17; 1 Kings ii. 31, xvi. 11, xxi. 29; 2 Kings x. 1 ff.; Amos vii. 17; Is. viii. 18, xxii. 23 f.; Mic. vii. 5 f.; Deut. xii. 12, xxi. 18 ff., xxv. 5 ff., xxvii. 16; Jer. vii. 18, xii. 6, xxix. 32, xxxii. 7, 18, xxxv. 19, xxxvi. 30; Ps. xxi. 10; Prov. x. 1, xvii. 6, xix. 26, xx. 20. That in the city, however, the old patriarchal family could no longer maintain its huge size is seen in the division of David's family into several households in Jerusalem (2 Sam. xiii. 7, 17 f., xiv. 24). Probably often only a few of a family would be at the city, while the rest of its members, and in particular its children and bond-servants, remained at the ancestral village (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xx. 28 f.; 2 Sam. xix. 33 ff.; 2 Kings iv. 13). A similar arrangement is common to-day in India even among the "working classes."

[3] See pp. 116 ff.

two certain old facts still held[1]—though the Canaanite and the Hebrew were of different races, they both worshipped the Hebrew God; and, though the North and South were politically two, they were religiously one. This is true in spite of all differences and all shortcomings. Definite national apostasy only threatened once—in the crisis of Jezebel and Athaliah—and then the danger passed. It is not uncommon in history that a nation fall into more than one state yet remain a nation.[2] Israel, thoughout her schisms, was conscious of an underlying unity.[3] In particular, she was always ideally one for the Prophets.[4] After the fall of the Northern Kingdom, the residue of its people naturally transferred their allegiance to Jerusalem,[5] and Judæa treasured the Northern Kingdom's records with her own. Always, too, the reunion of all Israel was the dream of the Jew.[6] The nation remained an effective unit of thought.

The Opportunity of the Individual

The smallest and largest units possible in society are the individual and the race. Before the Monarchy they played no effective part in Hebrew thought, but under the Kings they began to take their proper place in social theory. This was because they now first became prominent in the Israelite's experience of life.

It was summarily pointed out in the last Section that city life is naturally individualistic. A few illustrations may be given from Israel's own history. The city began as the headquarters of the royal bodyguard. A man was chosen for this, as a rule, because of *his own* worth—" When Saul saw any mighty man or any valiant

[1] See p. 34 ff., 70 ff.

[2] The stories of India, Italy, Germany, and the Goths, all furnish instances. Twice only did one Hebrew kingdom make an alliance against the other (1 Kings xv. 19; Is. vii. 2).

[3] *e.g.* 2 Sam. ii. 26 f., v. 1, xix. 41, xx. 19 f.; 1 Kings xii. 24.

[4] *e.g.* 1 Kings xviii. 31; Hos. i. 11; Jer. iii. 18; Ezek. xxxvii. 15 ff. Two southern Prophets testified in the North (Amos i. 1; 1 Kings xiii. 1).

[5] *e.g.* 2 Kings xxiii. 15 ff.; Ezra iii. 28, iv. 1; Neh. xi. 31; Tobit i. 1; Luke ii. 36; Phil. iii. 5.

[6] The New Testament passages that use the term "Israel" furnish a good illustration.

man, he took him unto him."[1] So David first "made his mark," not because he was son of Jesse, but because he slew Goliath. So, too, the bodyguard's cherished stories told of individual exploits.[2] A family is not a possible unit in an army. Again, the Court needed civil officers as well as military, and, while a man might gain a place there at times through "family influence,"[3] yet his advance would depend chiefly upon himself. The story of the rise of Jeroboam, son only "of a widow woman," is a good illustration.[4] He knew how to manage an affair; he was a "self-made man." In Eastern monarchies it has sometimes happened that a slave or a eunuch has reached the vizier's place, and, while so extreme an instance seems to be wanting in Israel, yet by the end of the Monarchy an eunuch might hold a place of influence even there.[5] So far distant now was the day when the only individuals in Israel were the heads of houses.[6] And, outside the army and the Court, there were other opportunities for individualism, such as those of the expert craftsman.[7] Their activities, too, centred in the city, as the passages that name them show.[8] But there is better evidence than that of selected texts. Anyone who reads consecutively the Books of Judges and Jeremiah will find that he passes from a world that "thinks in" families to one that "thinks in" individuals.

The way by which the individual began to "come to his own" in Israel is worth noting. Historically there have been two ways by which his right has been contradicted. Sometimes he has been the mere tool of other men, as in the modern instance of negro slavery. At other times he has been treated as but a part of a larger social unit, as in the ancient family. It is probable that the former or "tool" use of men has always marked, not merely an imperfect,

[1] 1 Sam. xiv. 52.
[2] 1 Sam. xiv. 1 ff.; 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 ff., xx. 1 ff.
[3] *e.g.* 2 Sam. xix. 37 f.
[4] 1 Kings xi. 26 ff. עשה מלאכה is more than "industrious"—rather, "apt at affairs."
[5] Jer. xxxviii. 7 ff.; *cf.* xxxiv. 19
[6] See pp. 78 f.
[7] See Additional Note 6.
[8] *e.g.* 1 Kings vi. 7; 2 Kings xii. 11 ff., xxiv. 14, 16; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxix. 2.

but a distorted stage in social evolution, and that the latter is the normal way of development. Indeed, it can still be traced in all families, for it is impossible to treat a new-born babe as fully a person. He is at first in the main a part of the family, and he grows into an "individual" by differentiation within it. This was the way, too, in the history of Israel. The son, the wife, the bondman were for centuries but parts of the family. Their differentiation within it as individuals, each with his own worth, spreads itself over the whole period of Old Testament history.[1] But none of them had ever been a mere tool; all began as members of the home. Consequently the coming of individualism appears, not so much as the redemption of a servile class that had been isolated unto bondage, but as the emergence of the single man from the larger unit of which he had so far formed a part. A dramatic instance will bring this out. The story of the friendship of David and Jonathan is one of the most famous in literature, but its distinctive quality has not always been noted. Many writers have pictured the conflict between the true love of two individuals and the mutual hatred of their families, but the lovers have usually been a man and a maid. Romeo and Juliet are set against the Montagus and Capulets. The Hebrew story tells how two *men's* friendship foiled their families' feud. By the old law of family unity,[2] David and Jonathan ought to have slain each other at sight. But they refused to be mere members of two families; they claimed to be individuals. Each said in effect—"Here I take my own way, and not my family's." The instance is not only dramatic, but typical of the Hebrew way of progress.

The results of the coming of individualism were not all good,[3] yet on the whole there was progress. It ceased to be usual for children to be slain for their fathers'

[1] *Cf.* pp. 195 ff. [2] *Cf.* pp. 71 ff.

[3] Deuteronomy legislates about "a rebellious son" (Deut. xxi. 18 ff.; *cf.* pp. 76 f.). The crime was reckoned so great an enormity that the Deuteronomist, stern vindicator of the past, decreed death for it (*cf.* 2 Kings ii. 23 f.). Yet its instances grew gradually common—*cf.* the stories of Amnon and Absalom, the many "wise saws" of Proverbs against the self-willed son (*e.g.* x. 1; xiii. 1, xv. 5, xix. 13, 26, xx. 20, xxviii. 24), and Mic. vii. 6; Jer. xii. 6.

sins.[1] Human sacrifice, too, died out.[2] A collection of proverbs—that is, a chart of life for common men—began to be included among the sacred books.[3] So, again, a cycle of democratic miracles is ascribed to Elisha. He wrought wonders, not as Moses to redeem a race, but to save a widow from a money-lender or to rescue a borrowed axe. All these are tokens that the worth of the individual as such —his right to be treated as an "end in himself"—was coming to be recognised. Some of them show that the recognition was coming in a way consonant with the genius of Israel. It was coming to be seen that the individual has worth *for God*—that a single man may be the object of a "particular Providence." The occurrence of oracles about individuals—at last even about a foreign eunuch—is worth notice.[4] But the great proof is the personal connexion of Prophets and Psalmists with Jehovah. The prophetic call was always an individual one, a thing between Jehovah and a single man.[5] Still more, at a Prophet's characteristic moment he was always solitary, for this moment was when alone he bearded a king or a people. Nathan before David, Elijah before Ahab, Amos facing the "kine of Bashan"—these are the great individuals of Israel. They are independent of everyone but God. In addition to this common mark of all the Prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah have each his own token of individualism. Not the least remarkable feature in Isaiah's vision[6] is that amid its overwhelming splendour the Prophet is self-conscious still. The veiled cherubim are but an accompaniment of a single man's colloquy with God! "*I* saw the Lord," "Woe is *me*," "Here am *I*; send *me*"—these mark the vision's austere periods. So too with Jeremiah, though in a different way. For this Prophet was strangely familiar with Jehovah. Throughout his book he seems to be holding a conver-

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 6; Deut. xxiv. 16.

[2] See p. 102.

[3] Prov. xxv. 1.

[4] Is. xxii. 15 ff.; Jer. xxviii. 15 ff., xxix. 21, 24, xxxix. 15 ff., xlv. 1; *cf.* 1 Kings xxii. 25.

[5] This seems to have been so even when a man joined a group of "the sons of the prophets" (1 Sam. x. 10 ff.).

[6] Is. vi.

sation with God—a conversation that his prophecies only interrupt—a conversation in which he can question and expostulate as well as acquiesce.[1] "Righteous art Thou, O Lord . . . yet would I reason the cause with Thee" —a solitary man demands satisfaction from God! It was natural that this Prophet should enunciate the great covenant of conscience,[2] for conscience and individualism of course evolve together. The same passage contains the great assertion of individual responsibility—"Every one shall die for his own iniquity; every man that eateth the sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge."[3] Though this verse does not exactly mark, as is sometimes said, the "discovery of the individual," yet it does mark an important point in the evolution of individualism.

The individualism of the Monarchy, however, has for the most part a certain limitation. All the instances so far noted are of outstanding men. In them it is rather that able men claim their rights than that the average man's are admitted. The worth of a man, merely because he is a man, does not appear. Israel, as a whole, did not reach this concept, at least with any clearness, until the next epoch. Yet it had already a remarkable anticipation. Not a few of the Psalms of the Monarchy seem, like many later hymns, to have been written by insignificant men—so much so that the very names of their authors were forgotten, later editors in their ignorance fathering them on famous names. Many of these Psalms are just songs of a personal providence.[4] They show one ordinary Israelite after another flinging his arms of trust about God. There are no so personal hymns elsewhere until Charles Wesley's. Their common burden is this—"I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me." Here is the final ground of the individual's worth.[5]

[1] *e.g.* Jer. iv. 10, x. 23 f., xi. 5, xii. 1, xvii. 14, 17, xviii. 19, xx. 7 ff., xxxii. 25.

[2] Jer. xxxi. 33. For the evolution of conscience *cf.* Deut. xxix. 19, xxx. 14; Jer. xvii. 9 f., xxiv. 7; and such passages in the Psalms as xxxvi. 1.

[3] Jer. xxxi. 30. Jeremiah, with sane inconsistency, presently asserts that God nevertheless treats men in families (xxxii. 18; *cf.* Lam. v. 7; Deut. xxiii. 2).

[4] *e.g.* Pss. iii., vii., xiii., xviii., xxiii., xxvii. (1-6), xxvii. (7-14), xxviii., lii., liv., lv., lvi., xci.; Hab. iii. 16 ff.; *cf.* Mic. vii. 7 ff.

[5] To say that these Psalms "personalise" the nation is not only to ignore the warmth of their intimacy but to miss the mark. For it is one thing to

The Evolution of Universalism

The largest possible social unit is the company of nations, the universe of man, the world. While there was universalism in embryo in Israel's Early Ideal,[1] the seed thus sown took long to spring. By the close of the Monarchy, however, it was full-grown. The stages in the process of growth can be noted. Many Canaanites and other aliens were included in Israel even before the Monarchy,[2] and this meant that others than Hebrews might receive Jehovah's care. The earliest written Prophets took the next step. It is one of the distinctions of Amos that he first thought, not merely of isolated aliens within Israel, but of whole nations without, as answerable to Jehovah. A Judæan, he arraigned Aram and Philistia, Tyre and Edom, Ammon and Moab, before his God. His first two chapters are the first of many prophetic Oracles to Gentiles, and they take it for granted that Jehovah ruled outside Israel. This was the first hint of the doctrine of a universal kingdom of the Lord. After Amos all the Prophets assume that the destinies of alien nations depend on Jehovah's will.[3]

Yet Amos' own words were only of Israel and its little neighbour states. The earliest tokens of what are called "world-politics" occur in the book of his contemporary Hosea. With him the little Syrian world ceased to monopolise Israelite thought, for it seemed likely again to become, as in ancient times, but a bridge of war between

treat a nation or tribe as a unity (as for instance in Deut. xxxiii.) and another to treat it as a person (as for instance in Lam. iii. 1 ff., 52 ff.). The latter process presupposes the concept of personality, and this in turn requires a developed individualism. A singer would only call a nation "I" when he had learnt the value of the term.

[1] Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14.

[2] See pp. 89 ff., 103.

[3] Deut. ii. 21 f.; Is. xiii.–xxi.; Jer. xlvi.–xlix.; *cf.* also Is. v. 26 ff., vii. 20, ix. 11, x. 5 ff.; Jer. xviii. 7 ff., xxv. 9, 15 ff., xxvii. 1 ff., xxviii. 1 ff. (this passage shows that at its date the assumption of Jehovah's power over the Empire of Babylon was common ground to all Prophets, false as well as true); xlviii. 13, xlix. 4 (Ammon a "backsliding daughter"), 6, 11, l. 14. The Book of Nahum makes the Median sack of Nineveh the vengeance of distant Israel's God.

Egypt and Assyria. Of these two empires the aggressor at this time was Assyria. Its one greatness was in war; its armies marched under a war-god;[1] it came on towards Israel eating up peoples and gods indistinguishably; it seemed omnipotent. Yet against its menace Hosea asserted Jehovah's power to care for His own people.[2] He could save Israel from a great god like Asshur as well as from a little one like Chemosh or Moloch.

A still harder task, however, and a more signal achievement were Isaiah's. In his day Assyria's triumph was no longer a distant threat, but an instant and capital peril; now she challenged the Lord to His face; at last in His own land only a single city held hesitating out. "Of a truth," cried Hezekiah, "the kings of Assyria have laid waste the nations and their lands, and have cast their gods into the fire."[3] Was Israel to share the same fate?

Against Assyria's claim there were but two courses—either Jehovah must succumb or He must show that universal sway was His and not Asshur's. A chief mark of Isaiah's greatness is that, even as Jehovah's last stronghold seemed to be toppling to its fall, he claimed for Him the world. This was the practical application of the cry in his vision, "The fullness of the whole earth is His glory,"[4] and Isaiah did not shrink. "The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it."[5] Assyria, so far from being omnipotent, was for Isaiah but a tool of Israel's God.[6] Not Asshur's war was to be universal, but Jehovah's peace—"The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the

[1] *e.g.* 2 Kings xviii. 33 ff.—a passage illustrated by many an Assyrian inscription.

[2] Hos. vii. 11, viii. 10, xii. 1.

[3] 2 Kings xix. 17 f.

[4] Is. vi. 3.

[5] Is. ii. 2; *cf.* xix. 25. The writer thinks that this prophecy was originally Isaiah's and was borrowed by Micah, since it is consonant with so much else that is original in Isaiah. But, in any case, it belongs to the epoch of Assyria, and it remains that the crucial danger of her attack extorted the doctrine of Jehovah's world-dominion. Only, if another than Isaiah first uttered the prophecy, two Prophets instead of one sprang to the height of the one possible reply to the challenge of Asshur.

[6] Is. x. 1, 15.

Lord as the waters cover the sea."[1] The concept of a universal society was won.

Here, again, Israel's sociology was debtor to her religion. Isaiah's magnificent venture would have been impossible if there had not been before his time a gradual passage in Hebrew thought from henotheism towards monotheism. There was a living connexion between the discovery that the so-called gods of other nations were but "the work of men's hands,"[2] and the theory that the world of men is a unit. Polytheism divides mankind, monotheism unites it. It was inevitable that the one nation whose religious practice passed from henotheism, not to polytheism, but to monotheism, should first clearly discern the unity of man. A single God means a united race. From Isaiah's time the Prophets began to foretell, not merely the ultimate prosperity of a righteous Israel, but the perfection of a righteous world.[3]

Jeremiah has, here again, the final word for the Monarchy. He taught that Jehovah could be His people's Saviour even in Babylon. In Isaiah's day the Hebrews' God was still so closely identified with their land that to save "Jahvism" it was necessary to rescue Jerusalem, but in Jeremiah's a people went into captivity whose "godly remnant" believed that Jehovah ruled everywhere.[4] It is rare in history that a nation survive exile—unique that Israel has survived it for millenniums.[5] This it has achieved because in its first brief captivity its nobler sons practised Jeremiah's theory. They bequeathed to their race the faith that Jehovah's power has no bound.

"I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care."

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[1] Is. xi. 1-9. For the theory of Peace see pp. 142 ff.

[2] 2 Kings xix. 15, 18.

[3] For this period outside Isaiah *cf.* Ps. lxxii.; Jer. iii. 17, iv. 2, xii. 14-17, xvi. 19, xlix. 6, 39.

[4] *Cf.* Deut. xxix. 10–xxx. 10.

[5] Perhaps the story of the Parsis approaches it nearest.

The City's Classes

To these two new units a third must be added—the city itself. The discussion of individualism has already shown that it was much more than an enlarged village. It is impossible to think of Jerusalem as only a confederacy of independent families. It had its own distinct unity, as a whole, within the nation. A number of texts show how the capital sometimes stood by itself over against the rest of Israel.[1] Further—and this is more important for social theory—the city was the home of a new type of social division. The kinds of society so far named—the family, the village, the nation, the world—differ primarily by their size. Society also divides by classes. People of one calling combine on the ground of their unity of calling, and they do so in ways that cut across family, city, and even national divisions. The age-long unity of the clergy of the Roman Church and the Trade Unions of to-day are illustrations. Within Israel under the Monarchy class divisions became for the first time a normal feature of society.

For instance, there was now a professional army, and this, as always, had its own unity. The distinction between the "Guard" or "the king's servants" and the "Host of Israel" shows this. The former was a small "standing army"; it had its quarters at the capital and awaited instantly the king's orders; it was Saul, its creator's, chief stand-by against the Philistines;[2] David's defeat of Absalom was in the main its victory over a national muster—"The people of Israel were smitten before the servants of David";[3] on Bichri's revolt David summoned his "servants" to a speedier pursuit than was possible for the slowly gathered "host" even of Judah only.[4] The army, that is, was already a distinct unit in

[1] Such texts as 2 Kings xi. 20 (*cf.* G. A. Smith, "Jerusalem," ii. p. 101 f.) and Jer. xxv. 2 distinguish the city-dwellers from the countrymen about them, as do Isaiah and Jeremiah's appeals to "the inhabitants of Jerusalem" as a distinct class within Judah (*e.g.* Is. v. 3, viii. 14; Jer. iv. 4, xi. 12); *cf.* Is. xxii. 1 f.; Jer. xxxii. 31.

[2] 1 Sam. xiii. 2, xiv. 52.

[3] 2 Sam. xviii. 7.

[4] 2 Sam. xx. 4 ff.

Israel, held together, as all true armies must be, by its particular *esprit de corps*.[1]

So, too, the priesthood of the Hebrews, as of other races, was one of the first separate callings to become conscious of its peculiar unity. At the time when the Levites were scattered here and there in Israel,[2] their union could not be much more than a memory and a name, but from the first they tended to gather at such shrines as Shiloh and Nob,[3] and David's royal sanctuary at Jerusalem offered them a great opportunity, which they used to the full.[4] The unity and strength of the priesthood at Zion continually grew, like that of every priesthood that serves a frequented shrine. At the crisis of Athaliah's usurpation the priests were strong enough to take the lead against her.[5] First among the leading officers at Jerusalem, carefully selected for captivity by Nebuchadnezzar's general when the city was finally depopulated, came five priests.[6]

There can be little doubt that the "merchants" and "chapmen" [7] who pursued their calling of trade with the capital as centre, would also have some degree of unity, especially as they were chiefly foreigners. But for the same reason they hardly appear as taking corporate action in the history of Israel. So, too, the "craftsmen" or skilled workmen probably formed at least in the later Monarchy a kind of guild.[8] But the clearest instance of a separate class, not to say clique, in Israel, apart from the army and priesthood, is that of the Court. This would usually include some soldiers and priests, and so its unity intruded on that of other classes.

The Israelite kingship followed centuries of a species of democracy and the early Hebrew monarchs knew the importance of attaching men of influence to themselves.

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that the term טבחים (slaughterers) used of Egyptian and Babylonian "bodyguards" (*e.g.* Gen. xxxvii. 36; 2 Kings xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 9) is never applied to the Hebrew king's "servants." *Cf.* 1 Sam. xxii. 17 f.

[2] *e.g.* Judg. xvii. 7, xix. 1.

[3] 1 Sam. i. 3, xxii. 18 f.

[4] *Cf.* Deut. xviii. 1 ff., xii. 19, xiv. 27, 29, xviii. 6 ff.

[5] *Cf.* 2 Kings xi. 4 ff. Joash' hiding-place was the Temple (*v.* 3).

[6] 2 Kings xxv. 18.

[7] See Additional Note 6, *h*.

[8] *e.g.* 2 Kings xxiv. 14, 16.

So Saul married his daughters to his captains and Solomon to his "officers."[1] So David at need conciliated even Shimei and knew when he must let the "sons of Zeruiah" have their way.[2] Such tokens show that the Hebrew Court partly sprang from the "old families" of influence in Israel, and it does not appear that either Hebrew kingdom became as absolute a despotism as others in the East. Still, the Court depended on the king. It is assumed that whom he would he glorified, and whom he would he abased.[3] Only when the Monarchy was tottering and the king a weakling, did the "princes" usurp a position of independence.[4] The Court was the king's "household" and its members "ate at the king's table."[5] Like the Guard, it could be called "the king's servants."[6]

But another of its names was "the princes."[7] The contrast in the two phrases' connotation displays a phenomenon characteristic of unlimited monarchies—they who serve the king rule the people. The Court was recognised as a ruling class.[8] As such, though recruited from the "people," it formed a separate party among them. For instance, when the "men of Judah," in their "fierce" altercation with the "men of Israel" about the "bringing back" of King David after Absalom's fall, wanted to exhibit their own disinterestedness, they insisted that they were no "Court party"—"Have we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift?"[9] While David's management of this affair shows that it was his wise policy to maintain his unity with his people,[10] and while

[1] 1 Sam. xviii. 19, 27; 1 Kings iv. 11, 15.

[2] 2 Sam. xix. 16 ff., iii. 39.

[3] *e.g.* 1 Kings xii. 8 and the implications of Prov. xix. 10, xxii. 29, xxiii. 1 f., xxv. 6 f., xxix. 26. The passage "He lifteth up the needy from the dunghill, to make them sit with princes" (1 Sam. ii. 8) treats the Lord as a greater Eastern king. *Cf.* 1 Kings ix. 22; 2 Kings x. 11.

[4] Jer. xxxvi. 16, xxxvii. 15 f. xxxviii. 4 ff., 25 ff.

[5] Hos. v. 1; 2 Sam. xix. 41; 1 Sam. xx. 5, 25 ff.; 2 Sam. ix. 7, xix. 42; 1 Kings ii. 7.

[6] *e.g.* 2 Kings xxii. 12 and 2 Sam. xii. 17 f. *Cf.* 2 Kings x. 11.

[7] *e.g.* 2 Kings xix. 6; 1 Kings ix. 22.

[8] *e.g.* 1 Kings iv. 7; Hos. v. 10, ix. 15; Zeph. i. 8; Is. i. 23, xxxii. 1; Mic. iii. 1, vii. 3; Jer. xxxvi. 12, 21.

[9] 2 Sam. xix. 40 ff

[10] *Cf.* 2 Sam. xix. 11.

none of his abler successors would emphasise the separateness of Court and country, yet the distinction could not but be there, and the influence of a Court concentrated in the city could not but be great. When Adonijah held his mutinous feast, one element in the news that affrighted and scattered his guests, was the tidings that the Court as a whole sided with Solomon.[1] A centralised Court's advantage for prompt action appears, again, in the assassination of Amon by his "servants"—an assassination presently avenged by the slower moving muster of the "people of the land."[2] A similar instance of the contrast of "people" and Court occurs in the enumeration of Nebuzaradan's prisoners—"*Out of the city* he took an officer that was set over the men of war; and five men of them that saw the king's face, which were found in the city; and the scribe of the captain of the host, which mustered the people of the land; *and threescore men of the people of the land*, that were found in the city."[3] The Court was a distinct class unit.

"*The Sons of the Prophets*"

Among the "people of the land" outside the city only one peculiar class seems to have had any real unity, the Prophets.[4] Some of the facts here are not very clear. There were societies called "the sons of the prophets," but none of the great Prophets seem to have sprung from them. The societies, indeed, owed more to the great Prophets than they to the societies. Elisha, for instance, is presented as the benefactor and teacher of a prophetic school.[5] In his day, however, the "sons of the prophets," at least sometimes, dwelt in a separated community,[6] and several texts suggest that they recognised a kind of loyalty to each other.[7] Yet their unity was not an effective thing. Every great Prophet was solitary.[8]

[1] 1 Kings i. 8, 44 f., 47. [2] 2 Kings xxi. 23 f. [3] 2 Kings xxv. 19.

[4] As time went on they began to frequent the city, until in Jeremiah's day the professional prophet was one of its pests.

[5] 2 Kings iv. 38, vi. 1. The phrase "sit before" implies this—Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," v. p. 656 (Kautzsch).

[6] 2 Kings vi. 1 ff.

[7] *e.g.* 1 Kings xiii. 18, xx. 36, xxii. 13, 24. [8] *Cf.* p. 114.

"*The People of the Land*"

Over against all these separated classes stood the "people of the land,"[1] with their single calling of agriculture. King, priest, and soldier, craftsman, courtier, and Prophet, all had sprung from them, all existed justifiably only for their benefit, all lived by their toil.[2] Strictly speaking, they formed not a distinct class but the residue of the mass out of which distinct classes originated.

In a despotism there are two limits to the monarch's autocracy—the fidelity of the Guard and the patience of the people. Adroit despots know how to make personal loyalty to themselves the one bond of union among their otherwise jealous janissaries, and how to "manage" the "people." Sometimes they debauch the latter into helplessness, as the Roman emperors the Roman populace, but this is to make them helpless, not only against their rulers, but against foes.[3] A people without unity is lost. Through all the centuries of Israel's Monarchy its people maintained theirs. Again and again they took action as a whole, and when once mustered they were irresistible. And it is remarkable how often, when roused to definite and separate action, they took the right side. Not infrequently in Israel "the voice of the people" was "the voice of God." The common Hebrew folk had a unity of their own—slow-moving, but lasting, effective, and salutary. They were one, not only in name, but in heart.

A few examples may be given.[4] From the point of view of the secular historian it was the "people" who made Saul and David king in turn. The latter studied to please

[1] *Cf.* pp. 110 f.

[2] This was at least sometimes true even of the Prophets—*e.g.* 1 Sam. ix. 7; 2 Kings iv. 42 ff.; *cf.* 1 Sam. x. 3 f.

[3] Prov. xiv. 28—"In the multitude of people is the king's glory: but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince."

[4] Add the following series of texts amongst others: 1 Sam. viii. 4 f., xiv. 45, xv. 15, 21, 30, xviii. 5, 6 ff., 13, 16, 30, xxi. 11, xxiii. 3, xxx. 6; 2 Sam. ii. 4, iii. 36 f., v. 1 ff., vi. 19, xiv. 13, 15, xv. 12, 18, xvi. 18, xix. 7, 9, xx. 12, 22, xxii. 44; 1 Kings viii. 66, xii. 16, 20, xvi. 16, 22, xviii. 39, xx. 8; 2 Kings xi. 14, 17, xiv. 21, xviii. 26 ff., xxi. 24, xxiii. 3, 30; Hos. i. 11; Deut. xvii. 7. xx. 9; Prov. xi. 14, 26, xiv. 28, xxviii. 15, xxix. 18; Jer. x. 18, xix. 1, xxvi. 8 f., 24, xxxiv. 19.

the "people."[1] When for a moment Absalom seduced their loyalty,[2] David lost his throne, and he knew that his return to Jerusalem would only be safe if it were by popular consent.[3] Again, Rehoboam lost most of his realm and Jeroboam won it by popular favour,[4] while at the crisis of Carmel Elijah appealed not to the king but the "people."[5] So, too, on the fall of Athaliah there is the significant phrase—"And Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord and the king and the people, that they should be the Lord's people; *between the king also and the people.*"[6] Later still both Josiah and Jehoahaz owed the throne to the "people."[7] Hosea's prophecy of the future introduced no new principle—"The children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and *they shall appoint themselves* one head."[8] The Hebrew "people" never sank to be merely their monarch's tools. Rather, they often decided who should be king. The Israelite Monarchy, save perhaps for the brief interval of Solomon's grinding magnificence, was based upon the "people's" will.

A Typical Social Problem

The social structure of Israel, then, so simple in its pre-Monarchic days, became under the Kings complicated though the concomitance and interpenetration of many social units. Herbert Spencer once foretold that the great social question of the Twentieth Century would be the mutual rights and obligations of the Individual and Society, but the problem of every maturing civilisation is much more complex. It is to assign every social unit its duties and rights in respect of every other. Or rather—the problem is to discover some principle or principles under which a theory of mutual rights and obligations for all the units can be framed. Too often the thought of ancient civilisations despaired of the task. Their moralists grew

[1] *e.g.* 2 Sam. iii. 33 ff.; xiv. 15.
[2] 2 Sam. xv. 6.
[3] 2 Sam. xix. 9–xx. 22; *cf.* xxii. 44.
[4] 1 Kings xii. 16, 20.
[5] 1 Kings xviii. 21, 39.
[6] 2 Kings xi. 17; *cf. v.* 14.
[7] 2 Kings xxi. 24, xxiii. 30.
[8] Hos. i. 11

content merely to praise the past or merely to dream of the future—in either case with a silent despair of the present. The Hebrew Prophet, on the other hand, never despaired, for hopelessness and prophecy are contradictory terms. He propounded principles that he claimed would solve the complicated social problems of his day. While the structure of to-day's society is, of course, not altogether like that of Israel under the Kings—the absence of slavery and the use of mechanical power, to name nothing else, setting it in contrast—yet in respect of complexity it is not dissimilar, nor of the difficulty of harmonising the interests of various classes. The individual, the family, the city, the nation, the world—a set of social units, so to say, concentric—and the army, the priesthood, the merchant class, the Court, the people—a set in contrast "eccentric"—form together a series whose relations are sufficiently complex to be typical. Men who undertook to solve the problem of these relations would not have flinched at to-day's, and the Prophets' principles may have a universal application. These principles were two—those of Righteousness and of Accommodation. Both words are used in a distinctive way, as will appear from their definition below, and it will be convenient to spell them with capital letters.

Section C.—A Fourfold Righteousness

The Sufficiency of Principle

Of the two principles used by the Prophets for the solution of the problems of a complex society, Righteousness and Accommodation, the first was dominant, the second ancillary. The first indeed defines the whole Biblical concept of true human life, individual and social alike, and all the Bible is its exposition. It did not spring suddenly full-grown out of the soil of Israel, but gradually grew there. To expect its full meaning on its first use is like expecting a rose's bloom and fragrance in its root. To apply this figure a little further—to say that Righteous-

ness was created by the Prophets is untrue, for its roots are in the pre-Prophetic period, but, so to speak, this precious plant first showed above ground in the Prophets' day.[1] Again, while their epoch was its spring, only Jesus brought its summer. They knew, not the "full corn," but the "blade."

The Prophets found the cure for the ills of society, not in a system of law, but in a principle. This was to prefer the true to the obvious method. Moses, the first great Prophet, had been a law-giver; kingship had been adopted partly to make law effective; in current thought Jehovah king-like was law-giver as well as Saviour; at the sacred shrines the Priests cherished holy law-books. Both the Hebrew past and present, therefore, seemed to require that an attempt should be made so to develop law as to meet the needs of the newly complex society. But, though such attempts are common in history, in Israel none seems to have been made. While of course the king and his inferior judges adjudicated the many "cases" that the new state of society produced, there is no hint that their decisions were ever "codified"; at least they never won a place in the Hebrew Bible. The Priests, again, the custodians of Hebrew law, though centred now in Jerusalem, never developed a code for the complex city life. The task that they avoided the Prophets undertook, but in their own way. They proposed to subject the complex society of their time to the sway, not of a concatenated law, but of a single principle. Else their achievement had had no universal value, for, while law may meet particular need, its use passes with that need; principle, if true, is eternal. Not Hebrew law but Hebrew Righteousness solves the problems of society to-day.

Again, the Prophets' method of meeting social need suits the nature of society. It was perhaps an inevitable consequence of the individualistic philosophy that followed the Protestant Reformation in Europe that society should

[1] The Hebrew verb (צדק) and its cognates only occur in ten passages in the documents for the pre-Monarchic periods—Gen. vii. 1, xv. 6, xviii. 19-28, xx. 4, xxx. 33, xxxviii. 26, xliv. 16; Ex. ix. 27, xxiii. 7 f.; Judg. v. 11.

be thought of as merely a combination of individuals. It was supposed that man is "naturally" an individual, but only social by convenience. From this came the theory of the "Contrat Social" with its easily summed series of rights and duties. If society were thus mechanical, no doubt its laws might be as readily stated as those of other machines. But modern thought has come to see that society is a form of life, and the failure of science completely to account for life needs no demonstration—as well seek to prison a spring in a cistern! Society is not mechanical but organic, not a convenient arrangement but a natural phenomenon, and like every other organ of life it is various even while it is constant! A society may multiply its codes of behaviour—codes of law, of custom, of courtesy, of honour, and so on—yet life still exceeds them. Who, for instance, can be a gentleman by rule? The only true theory of society is an enunciation of principles, not a set of rules.[1] However surprising the assertion might have seemed to the Prophets, they chose the right path for social theory because, by foregoing law for principle, they elected to treat society as a form of life.

This, of course, does not mean that law is useless. Hebrew law was itself an expression, though an inadequate one, of Jehovah's Righteousness. Its best figures are those of the school, the scaffolding, the crutch, the model, the finger-post. Its use, like theirs, disappears with its own success. It is as external, as inevitable, and as useful in society as ritual in worship. The Prophets, denouncing the vanity of mere ritual, were not likely to accept the finality of law. Jeremiah's illuminative prophecy of the New Covenant is the climax of prophetic teaching in this as in other ways—"This is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put My law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people."[2] As in the making of a beautiful garden

[1] The ambiguity of the term "law" not a little beclouds this distinction in current thought.

[2] Jer. xxxi. 33.

a botanist's skill can only help the sunlight, so legal systems only help Righteousness to fashion a perfect society. The Prophets had a universal message because they staked all on a principle.

The Definition of "Righteousness"

In the Old Testament the term "righteousness" has sometimes a narrow and sometimes a wide meaning.[1] It is here used in the wider sense. This included the whole known will of the Lord. For the Prophets, and for all who were true to the genius of Israel, Righteousness and Jehovah were inseparable. In other words, the new term maintained the old Hebrew connexion of sociology and religion. Jeremiah summed the teaching of all his predecessors when he said "The Lord is our righteousness."[2] The best definition of the term is the known will of God.[3]

During the Monarchy, Righteousness stood for four great social qualities—justice, truth or faithfulness, mercy and peace. No other is anywhere prominent; these are everywhere so. It is true that "righteousness" is sometimes used alongside of one or other of them as though it were distinct from them, and that it sometimes narrows to the first, but it is quite consonant with Hebrew usage to put in "parallelism" words and phrases which largely repeat each other, and there are passages which require that each of the qualities named be regarded as an element in one complete idea. So, as "Righteousness" best connotes their common peculiarity in Hebrew thought—their worth as being the will of the Lord—it is the best single word for the distinctive social principle of Israel. A few examples out of many are given below to show the constant association of each of the four with the others and of all with God.[4] Of passages that display the complete concept in all its parts none surpass the seventy-second Psalm and the earlier paragraph of Isaiah's eleventh

[1] *Cf.* p. 134. [2] Jer. xxiii. 6. [3] *Cf.* pp. 195 ff.
[4] Hos. ii. 19; Is. xxxii. 16 f.; Mic. vi. 8; Zeph. iii. 13; Deut. xxxii. 4; Jer. ix. 24; Hab. i. 13.

chapter. In the latter especially the four elements in Righteousness—justice, faithfulness, mercy, peace—perfectly blend.

It has become so common to treat religion as separate from social theory and the Bible as a merely devotional book, that the social significance of some of its doctrines is often forgotten or ignored. "Righteousness" is supposed too sanctimonious to touch economics. But Israel's history shows that the earliest reference of all the four terms named was not "spiritual," not to the "inner life" of a man with God, but *economic*—that is, Righteousness was first enunciated for the ordering *of social life*. This appears at once if the four words be studied historically. A brief attempt must be made to show how the enunciation of each of them was the outcome of the social conditions of the Hebrew Monarchy.

Justice: (1) *in Law*

In an old-fashioned Hebrew village the ordinary administration of justice lay with the Elders, while extraordinary cases were carried to the "judge."[1] This simple system had its inconveniences, but, so long as each village in the main lived its own separate life, it sufficed. As, however, the ancient isolation of each settlement slowly ceased, and a village's relations with other villages and especially with the capital became constant and complex—when a ryot's "plea" might lie, not against a fellow-villager, but against the royal tax-collector, the travelling merchant, or the city money-lender—village "public opinion" would be helpless, and the need for some regular and effective executive authority would become imperative.[2] Under the Monarchy the administration of a village still fell to its Elders,[3] but above them now stood, not the merely "moral" arbitration of a "judge," but the effective authority of a king who could say, "The man that doeth this thing shall surely die."

[1] See Additional Note 3, j, *et seqq.* [2] *Cf.* pp. 71 ff.
[3] *e.g.* 1 Sam. xi. 3, xvi. 4; 1 Kings xxi. 8; 2 Kings x. 5.

Solomon's fame was lasting in Israel on two grounds—he built the temple, he had wisdom to judge. To the writer of the Book of Kings the story of the skill with which he adjudicated the case of the two harlots was the fitting sequel to his vision at Gibeon. In the East a true king is his people's guarantee of justice.[1]

All systems of justice stand or fall by their treatment of the man who has no influence—whether of wealth, family, or authority. None has yet been devised by which the disadvantage of being a poor man is wholly obviated. Perhaps the Hebrews' ideal method of a righteous and able king's adjudicating all his people's cases in person, on the spot, and without fee, comes as near it as any. But this ideal is impracticable save in the tiniest states; it gives way to a centralised and delegated justice. In Israel there soon arose other judges than the king,[2] and their headquarters would be at the capital. Disadvantage inevitably ensued for the countryman and the poor. It would be hard for an ordinary ryot to spare the time needed for the journey to Jerusalem on the business of his "plea"; on reaching the city its ways would be strange to him;[3] the "law's delays" there meant for him, though not for a citizen, a total interruption of his work for his living; his opponent in the suit might have all the advantages that come from knowledge of a court's custom, of its officers' predilections, and of its judge's temper. In such ways "the curse of the poor" was "his poverty."

To the shortcomings of the system there were added its abuses. The most sinister of these was bribery. This, too, had its root in an innocent custom. The Elders were expected to administer the village justice in its gate for nothing,[4] and it is possible that the kings took no personal

[1] *e.g.* 2 Sam. xii. 5 f., xiv. 8; Is. ix. 6 f.; Jer. xxii. 1, 3, 15 f.; Ps. lxxii., ci.; Prov. xx. 8, 26, xxix. 14; *cf.* 2 Kings vi. 26 ff.

[2] These were sometimes priests (Deut. xvii. 8 ff., xxi. 5, xxiv. 8, xxvii. 14, etc.; Jer. xviii. 18; Zeph. iii. 4) and sometimes lay officers such as the "princes" (*e.g.* Is. i. 23, iii. 14; Deut. i. 12 ff.; Jer. xxii. 2 f., xxvi. 10 ff. (*cf.* 17); Zeph. iii. 3 f.). *Cf.* Additional Note 6 *e*.

[3] If "internal evidence" serve, there is in Psalm lv. an illustration of a countryman's mingled bewilderment, "home-sickness," and indignation, at the ways of the city.

[4] Ex. xxiii. 8; Deut. xvi. 19.

fee when they judged,[1] but, when officers of justice came to be regularly appointed, it was natural that the expenses of the courts should be met by the litigants for whose benefit they existed. This meant that the king's deputy-judges and the other officers of the law-court—for such officers as scribe or secretary were sure to arise—would receive fees. There was precedent for such payment in the "present" given to any person of standing to whom a man was under obligation.[2] But it might be impossible for a poor man to pay even a reasonable fee; officials would be able to delay his case until he paid or abandoned his suit;[3] a rich man might easily double a poor man's "present"; and thus insidiously the way might be taken to outright bribery and the sale of justice.

Further, outside sheer bribery, there lay "respect of persons." How few judges would arbitrate without bias between an unknown and uncouth villager and an influential fellow-citizen of their own class to whom they had been or might be themselves obliged! If a David were at times unable to execute justice on powerful subjects,[4] how frequent must have been the failure of smaller men! It is possible to do the system wrong—it was much better than no system; it was much more nearly adequate to the needs of Monarchic times than the old jurisdiction of the "judges"; under a strong, wise, and righteous king it would secure for the "people" no inconsiderable degree of true justice—but when a weak, foolish, or unprincipled monarch reigned, the unscrupulous would easily and continuously pervert it to their own evil advantage. A verse in Proverbs shows how utterly it depended on character—"When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice: But when a wicked man beareth rule, the people sigh."[5] There are indications that under the first Hebrew Kings justice was on the whole done. Both Nathan and the woman of Tekoa, for instance, knew that they could reach David's heart by urging the plea of the poor, and

[1] There seems at least to be no clear case of a Hebrew *king's* being bribed.
[2] *e.g.* 1 Sam. ix. 7, xvi. 20, xvii. 18, xxv. 27.
[3] *Cf.* Prov. xviii. 16. [4] 2 Sam. iii. 39. [5] Prov. xxix. 2.

Solomon's glory was that "the wisdom of God was in him to do judgement," while even as late as Ahab's time the judicial murder of Naboth appears to have been an unusual enormity.[1] Yet even before David bribery was not unknown,[2] while under later kings both this and "respect of persons" were rife.[3] What state of current morality were implied in England if a Bright or a Gladstone were to think it necessary to protest that he had taken no bribe? Yet Hebrew writers thought this a fit claim for the lips of Moses or Samuel.[4] So rare a wonder are "clean hands" in the East! There it has ever been a miracle that a poor man get justice.

Justice: (2) *in Government*

With injustice in the narrow sense went "oppression." "Of old time" it was natural that these should form parts of one idea, for the modern Western differentiation in government of the judicial, administrative, and executive offices was unknown. The "prince" who one month adjudicated the ryot's dispute, might the next demand his taxes. The villager associated both functions and the abuse of both with the capital and Court. For him "oppression" and the sale of justice were but parts of one wrong.

The chief element in "oppression" was the extortion of taxation. In David's reign the cost of the still simple Court and still small city was perhaps met by the tribute of conquered tribes, but with Solomon the taxation of Israel began.[5] Probably after him this burden grew, for, as the Hebrew Empire rapidly shrank and there came to be few "tributaries" or none, its resources would narrow

[1] 2 Sam. xii. 1 ff., xiv. 5 ff.; 1 Kings iii. 28, xxi.; *cf.* Is. i. 21, 26; Jer. xxii. 15 f., xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15.

[2] Ex. xxiii. 8.

[3] *e.g.* for bribery, Is. i. 23, v. 23, xxix. 21; Mic. iii. 11; Deut. xxvii. 25; Prov. xvii. 23, 26; and for "respect of persons," Is. iii. 9; Deut. i. 17, x. 17 f., xvi. 19; Prov. xxviii. 21; *cf.* Deut. xxiv. 17, xxvii. 19.

[4] Num. xvi. 15; 1 Sam. xii. 3 ff.

[5] 1 Kings xii. 4, etc.

to the taxation of its own people. On the other hand, under the later Kings the little land had two capitals to support instead of one. The cost of the luxury of the cities also continually grew,[1] and additional money had now to be found to buy off an Aramæan invader or satisfy an Assyrian suzerain.[2]

Further, the Eastern system of tax-gathering encourages depredation, for, so long as the official collector meets the royal treasury's demands, he is only rarely asked how much more than this he wrings from the people for his own use, or which of the fellahin he selects to pay it. If he be a "needy man," he is "like a sweeping rain which leaveth no food."[3] Eastern cities and Courts almost universally become giant wens, uselessly exhausting the strength of the country whose blood they suck.[4] There is abundant evidence of the "oppression" of the later Hebrew Court,[5] but a single proof is enough—the growth in the documents of the vocabulary of "violence." Words rare before, meaning to "clutch," "extort," "spoil," become common now; terms proper to the severe practices of ancient war are borrowed to describe customs of peace;[6] the same Hebrew word (עני) means indifferently the "poor," the "oppressed," and the "meek"! What was the state of society when it was axiomatic that monarchy meant oppression[7] and a Psalmist could take it for granted that

[1] For the growth of luxury note especially Amos' famous arraignment of the idle rich of both capitals (vi. 1 ff.) and Isaiah's of the "mincing" women of Jerusalem (iii. 16 ff.).

[2] *e.g.* 1 Kings xiv. 25, xv. 18; 2 Kings xii. 18, xvi. 8, xviii. 14.

[3] Prov. xxviii. 3.

[4] For a modern instance see Sykes' "Glory of the Shia World," chap. iii., where the Persians congratulate themselves upon a national "astuteness" that means skill and finish in extortion.

[5] For the easy growth of violence under a despotism *cf.*, for instance, 1 Sam. xvi. 2, xviii. 10 f., xix. 1, xxii. 18 f., xxiii. 8 f.; 2 Sam. xiii. 30, xiv. 30; 1 Kings v. 13 ff., ix. 15 ff., xi. 40, xii. 1 ff., xvi. 11, xviii. 10, xxi. 1 ff., xxii. 26 f.; 2 Kings i. 9 ff., vi. 31, x. 7, 14, xi. 1, xxi. 16; 1 Sam. viii. 11 ff. (D); Is. iii. 14 f., x. 1 ff.; Mic. iii. 1 ff.; Zeph. i. 8 f.; Jer. xxii. 13 f., xxvi. 23; Prov. xx. 2, xxv. 6 f., xxviii. 15 f., xxix. 4; Ps. lviii., lxii. 10, lxxii. 14; *cf.* Prov. xxiii. 1 f.

[6] See Additional Note 7.

[7] 1 Sam. viii. 10 ff.—"that momentous protestation and warning which all the kingdoms of Asia and many of the kingdoms of Europe have unceasingly confirmed" (Acton, "Essays on Freedom," p. 4).

a God who was a "righteous judge" was therefore one that "hath indignation *every day*"?[1]

Justice: (3) *Israel's unique Insistence*

It is hard for those who know only a society in which "common justice" is a usual phrase to imagine one in which injustice and "oppression" are normal, yet it is no exaggeration to say that Eastern peoples take both as a matter of course, the only question being their degree. To oriental fatalism it seems as natural that a government fleece its people as that the sun shines, and only the extremity of extortion ever interrupts quiescence. The system of despotism through delegates depends for justice and right entirely upon the character of the despot and his officers, and this almost uniformly fails.[2] It is here that Israel's distinction lies. Her people never quite submitted to wrong; not spasmodically but continuously, not theoretically but in practice, her Prophets demanded justice still. This was the primary element in their concept of Righteousness, and from first to last they insisted that it was essential to the society of Israel. Indeed, "righteousness," in its narrower sense, means justice—justice considered as the will of a judge superior even to the king, Jehovah.[3]

The usual proofs of this are Nathan's bearding of David[4]

[1] Ps. vii. 11.

[2] "The possession of unlimited power, which corrodes the conscience, hardens the heart, and confounds the understanding of monarchy" (Acton, "Essays on Freedom," p. 11). A young officer, in Palestine with the British Army, noted the people's amazement when they were paid for labour on "public works."

[3] There are good illustrations in Gen. xviii. 25—"That be far from Thee . . . to slay the righteous with the wicked. . . . Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"—and in Ps. lviii. 11—"Verily there is a reward for the righteous: Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth." The Hebrew term for "righteousness" is sometimes translated "justice," especially when joined with "judgement"—*e.g.* Gen. xviii. 19; Deut. xxxiii. 21; 2 Sam. viii. 15; 1 Kings x. 9; Jer. xxii. 15, xxiii. 5; Ezek. xlv. 9. The Book of Proverbs and the Deuteronomic writings contrast in their choice of synonyms, Proverbs preferring צדיק and the Deuteronomists ישר.

[4] Where the peculiar element for Eastern history is not a king's seizing of a subject's beautiful wife, but his repentance.

or Elijah's of Ahab, and such oracles as Amos' "woe" upon the "wanton women" of Samaria,[1] Micah's upon the "heads of Jacob,"[2] or Zephaniah's upon the "princes of Jerusalem."[3] But, while such denunciations of injustice are apposite,[4] the teaching of the greater Prophets, in particular, had also a positive side. They insisted, not only that Israel was in fact perishing from unrighteousness, but that Righteousness, and especially its primary element justice, was a medicine equal to her cure. More—while later readers think of the Prophets' bright visions as distant and impracticable dreams, their authors expected their fulfilment soon. They saw that if men were but righteous, everything were won—but they did not know how toilsome and slow a task it would prove to win men to Righteousness. The typical and most splendid passage of this class is again Isaiah's vision of the coming kingdom of the "Shoot out of the stock of Jesse," and it is characteristic that he leaps straight to it from the defeat of Sennacherib![5] Chief among its glories is this—"He shall not *judge* after the sight of his eyes, nor *decide* after the hearing of his ears; but with righteousness shall he *judge* the poor, and *reprove* with equity for the meek of the earth."[6] So again Jeremiah—"Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Shoot, and he shall reign as king and prosper, and shall execute *judgement* and *justice* in the land. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is the name whereby he shall be called, The Lord is our righteousness."[7] Proverbs adds in its sober way, "The king that faithfully *judgeth* the poor, His throne shall be established for ever";[8] the Psalm of the Everlasting Kingdom counts the just judging of the poor an equal glory with universal

[1] Amos iv. 1 ff. [2] Mic. iii. 1 ff. [3] Zeph. iii. 3.

[4] Add Amos iii. 10, v. 7, 11, 15, vi. 1 ff.; Is. i. 17, 23, iii. 14 f., v. 7, xxviii. 14; Deut. xxiv. 17, xxvii. 19; Jer. v. 28, xxii. 13 ff.; Lam. iii. 34 ff.; Hab. i. 4; Pss. vii., lviii.

[5] Is. xi. 1 ff.

[6] Is. xi. 3 f.; *cf.* ix. 7, xxviii. 5 f., xxxii. 1 ff., xxxiii. 14 f.

[7] Jer. xxiii. 5 f.; *cf.* iv. 2, vii. 5 f., xxii. 3 ff., xxxiii. 15.

[8] Prov. xxix. 14; *cf.* xii. 3, xvi. 8, xvii. 15, xxi. 3, 15, xxviii. 5.

dominion ;[1] the Deuteronomist, stung for once to a less regular rhetoric, cries "*justice, justice* shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live and inherit the land."[2] Long before economists had laboriously discovered that justice is essential to a stable and prosperous society, the thinkers of Israel had asserted it, only they based the truth not upon a wide survey of historic sociology, but upon the character of God—"The Lord your God, He is God of gods, and Lord of lords, the great God, the mighty, and the terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward."[3] Only a remnant of Israel learnt the lesson and they but in part, yet who can deny that here lies the explanation of the strange survival of just this one among the ancient peoples? Injustice is at last fatal to society. Only that God and His people survive who do justice.

Truth

The next quality inherent in Righteousness was truth or faithfulness. This came into view in the last Chapter in the double morality of speech.[4] Among the early Hebrews an oath was binding always—whether with another Israelite or an alien; but to speak the truth outside oath was required only with a neighbour and not with an alien. How did Israel now advance on this?

The whole social story of the Hebrew Monarchy might be depicted as the growth of a chasm between the many and the few. At its beginning the nation was still dominated by a Prophet and its practice fell not so far short of its theory,[5] but subsequently its practice degenerated while its theory ennobled. And yet its theory was not divorced altogether from practice, for it was the practice of a minority. The Prophets, having at first led the whole nation, became gradually the leaders only of a "godly remnant." In no sphere is this more easy to trace than in that of truth. The majority fell below the old standard.

[1] Ps. lxxii.; *cf.* especially ci.
[2] Deut. xvi. 20; *cf.* i. 17, iv. 8, x. 18.
[3] Deut. x. 17; *cf.* Mic. vi. 8. [4] See pp. 94 ff. [5] See p. 45.

Lies, of course, were still common,[1] and justifiable to an enemy even if he were a fellow-Israelite.[2] But, as time went on and the Hebrew Court grew corrupt, the habit of deceit —even with a neighbour and in time of peace—spread like a pestilence. Bribery—a sin against faithfulness as well as justice—now debauched both;[3] such terms as "intrigue," "treachery," and "flattery" now occur to describe the different kinds of falsehood that afflict rule;[4] trade, a child of the capital, was almost a synonym for roguery;[5] treachery invaded home itself;[6] the very oath of the Lord, binding in old time even with a foe, and still so in the early Monarchy, was commonly violate by Hosea's day;[7] Jeremiah had oracles against that last enormity, lying prophets,[8] and declared that Jehovah would pardon all Jerusalem if amid her multitudes there were a single honest man![9]

On the other hand, the Prophetic standard continually rose until, instead of the small requirements of old time, they demanded a faithfulness whose scope was the whole of human life. Hebrew has the advantage of English in possessing a single word-root to cover the idea of reliability in all human relations.[10] It includes all that

[1] *e.g.* 1 Sam. xix. 13 ff.; 2 Sam. xix. 27; 1 Kings xiii. 18, xxi. 8 ff.; 2 Kings iv. 16, v. 25, viii. 14; Deut. xxii. 13 ff.

[2] *e.g.* 1 Sam. xix. 17, xxvii. 10; 2 Sam. xv. 32 ff., xvii. 20, xix. 13; 1 Kings ii. 20 ff. (?); 2 Kings x. 6, 9, 18 ff., 30. The last case is brought under Jehovah's blessing; probably here too, therefore, should be added the story how the Lord "put a lying spirit in the mouth" of Ahab's prophets (1 Kings xxii. 23)—even the Lord might rightly deceive His foes!

[3] See pp. 130 ff., and *cf.* Hos. vii. 3; Is. xxviii. 15 f.; Prov. xvii. 7; Ps. xxvii. 12.

[4] *e.g.* 2 Kings x. 1 ff., 9; ix. 23; 1 Kings xxii. 6; Ps. lv. 21.

[5] *e.g.* Amos viii. 5; Hos. xii. 7; Mic. vi. 11.

[6] "Keep the doors of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosom" (Mic. vii. 5). *Cf.* Jer. ix. 4-6.

[7] Hos. iv. 2, x. 4; *cf.* 2 Sam. xxi. 2; 1 Kings ii. 43; Ps. lv. 20; Jer. xxxiv. 8 ff. With perjury went theft of course—*e.g.* Amos iii. 10; Hos. iv. 2, v. 10, vi. 9, vii. 1; Is. i. 23; Jer. vii. 9, 11. The typical case of the binding oath is the "covenant" between Jonathan and David (1 Sam. xx. 8-17, 42, xxiv. 21; 2 Sam. ix. 1 ff., xxi. 7). *Cf.* 1 Kings i. 13, xxii. 16; Deut. xxiii. 21 ff.; Prov. xx. 25, xxix. 24. For the justifiable breaking of an oath see 1 Sam. xxv. 22 ff. (*cf.* xiv. 24 ff.).

[8] Jer. xxiii. 14, 32, xxix. 23.

[9] Jer. v. 1; *cf.* vii. 9, 11.

[10] אמן, אמונה, אמת, etc.

English means by truth, honesty, trustworthiness, staunchness, faithfulness. While the last has been chosen as the best single English word, it is still inadequate. The Prophets require that for a true society truth shall be as pervasive as life, and this they urge in the characteristic Hebrew way. In Proverbs, indeed, there are hints of the notion that honesty is a good thing because experimentally it is found to "pay,"[1] but the Prophets preach that man should be faithful because God is. It belongs to the history of theology to show how slightly the earliest Israelite concept of Jehovah was smirched with that notion of fickleness and caprice that attaches to all other "ethnic" gods,[2] and how within the days of the Monarchy it lost even the smirch, but here, too, Hebrew social theory waited on religion. Utter faithfulness was required of man as soon as it was recognised in the Lord. Men always become like anything that they really worship.

The full evidence for these three facts—that faithfulness was held characteristic of Jehovah, that so it inhered in Righteousness, and that therefore it is vital to society—appears only on an examination of all the passages where the derivatives of the Hebrew root for "faithfulness" occur.[3] A few typical texts are given below.[4] Here it must suffice to quote a single passage for each fact. The fusion between the ideas of faithfulness and the character

[1] *e.g.* Prov. x. 10, 18, xi. 3, xxvi. 24 ff., xxviii. 20.

[2] This defect of caprice inheres in Eastern justice, since it makes judgement depend on the fiat of one man. This is why the Old Testament insists on faithfulness or reliability in a perfect king (*e.g.* Is. xi. 5). Islam treats God as the greatest of Sultans when it makes Him not indeed fickle but capricious—a deified fate that assigns one man to hell and another to heaven by a mere act of will without giving reasons. Here, again, the connexion of justice with faithfulness appears.

[3] See, for instance, "faithful," "faithfulness," and "truth" in an English Concordance.

[4] Ex. xviii. 21; Num. xii. 7; 1 Sam. ii. 35 (D), xvi. 23, xxii. 14; 2 Kings xii. 15, xxii. 7; Hos. iv. 1; Is. xi. 5, xvi. 5; Mic. vii. 20; Deut. vii. 9; Zeph. iii. 12 f.; Jer. vii. 11, xxxiii. 6; Lam. iii. 23; Ps. xlv. 4, lxi. 7, lxiii. 11, ci. 5 ff. There is also a deep connexion between the three ideas in the great text of Gen. xv. 6. Proverbs has much to say of "truth" as a secret both of prosperity and friendship, of good government and worthy service—for the Wise Man indeed it is the salt of life. He demands "truth," too, in heart as well as speech, and denounces the "shuffler," the "tale-bearer," the "whisperer," and the knowing "winker," as well as the liar direct (Prov. iii. 2, 3, 10, xxv. 13, xxvii. 6, xvii. 7, xx. 28, xvi. 6, xii. 19, v. 6, 13 (mg.), xi. 13, xxvi. 20, x. 10).

of Jehovah was so complete that both Amos and Jeremiah could use "lies" as a synonym for idols.[1] A famous text in Habakkuk runs "The righteous shall live in his faithfulness."[2] Isaiah describes the ideal city of the future society as "The city of righteousness, the faithful city."[3] The passages named below show that these ideas were not peculiar to the Prophets. They pervade the whole literature of the Monarchy. Already it was known that a universal faithfulness is the cement of society.

Mercy

When the so-called "humanitarianism" of the pre-Monarchic law is remembered,[4] the inclusion of the third quality, mercy, in the idea of Righteousness seems natural. The two terms, indeed, not infrequently accompany each other, especially in Hosea.[5] The distinctive feature of the Hebrew books here, however, is the way in which they persistently connect what modern thought is prone to contrast, justice and mercy. Especially, these are again and again treated as complementary in the character of God. For instance, the first passage that clearly connects judgement with Righteousness—that of Jehovah's Doom on Sodom—tells also that the Doom could not fall until Jehovah's "mercy" had found "righteous Lot" a refuge;[6] "visiting iniquity," again, and "showing mercy" are a usual pair of the attributes of the Lord both in law, prophecy, and Psalm.[7] The ground of the connexion is historical. The primary element in Righteousness was justice, but to secure this *for the poor* has always been the unsolved problem of Eastern society. There, to a poor litigant or to a watchful moralist, a judge who was merely just seemed also merciful.[8] Only the pitiful did not wrong the helpless! Mercy belonged

[1] Amos ii. 4; Jer. xvi. 19 f. [2] Hab. ii. 4. [3] Is. i. 26.

[4] See pp. 54 ff.; *cf.* pp. 100 ff.

[5] *e.g.* Hos. ii. 19; vi. 4 ff. (mg.), x. 12, xii. 6; Is. xvi. 5; Mic. vi. 8; Jer. ix. 24; Ps. xxiii. 3, 6; Prov. xiv. 22, xxi. 21.

[6] Gen. xviii. 25, xix. 19, 22.

[7] Ex. xx. 5 f., xxxiv. 7; Num. xiv. 18; Deut. vii. 9 f.; Jer. xii. 18; *cf.* Is. ix. 17; Amos iii. 2; Jer. xvi. 5; Ps. lii. 6, 8, lxii. 10 ff.

[8] *Cf.* pp. 130 ff.

to Righteousness because it was a part of justice![1] So completely did ancient thought contrast with to-day's![2] It knew much of the "respect of persons" that cloaks a rich man's iniquity, little of the kindliness that ignores a poor man's. For it the righteous were of course the merciful.

Yet, on a review of the whole literature of the Monarchy, the evidence seems to show a hundred times that the Hebrews were a cruel people and a hundred that they were a merciful one! Hardly a book among the larger ones but can be quoted on both sides, hardly a hero whose practice is uniform! Further, broadly speaking both cruelty and mercy were practised in the name of the Lord! There is scarcely an instance of either which is not connected, directly or indirectly, with religion.[3] How was this?

The discussion of the "humanitarianism" of Deuteronomy above[4] gives the key to the answer. All tribal religions took it for granted both that fellow-tribesmen would help each other, as being in covenant with the same god, and that they would hate the alien as his enemy. Undoubtedly early Israel shared these opinions.[5] They had a natural extension in the idea that a god would visit his anger even upon one of his worshippers if he displeased him. So no Hebrew writer of the Monarchy is at all conscious of any incongruity if in the same breath he proclaim Jehovah's mercy to those that do His will and His wrath against those that dispute it. Deuteronomy, for instance, culminates in a great description of both;[6] the Wise Man,

[1] For this idea in later history see "Property, Its Duties and Rights," pp. xiv, 98, 123, etc. (Macmillan, 1913).

[2] Just as Old Testament ethics refuse to contrast justice and mercy, so they do not admit any contrast between the latter and truth. "Mercy and truth," on the contrary, are continually linked (*e.g.* Gen. xxiv. 27, xxxii. 10; 2 Sam. ii. 6, xv. 20; Hos iv. 1; Mic. vii. 20; Ps. lxi. 7; Prov. iii. 3, xiv. 22, xx. 28). The Bible does not justify the lies of easy-going kindliness.

[3] For a series of typical passages on both sides see Additional Note 5.

[4] See pp. 102 ff.

[5] *Cf.* pp. 27 ff. Probably this explains 1 Sam. xx. 14 f., Jonathan there appealing to "the kindness of Jehovah," not so much as the "kindness" that His character exemplified, as that which He required in two who had taken together His oath of covenant.

[6] Deut. xxviii.

recommending a king in one breath to use "the wheel," declares in the next that "mercy and truth" are the twin foundations of a throne;[1] a royal Psalmist declares, within a few verses, "I will sing of mercy" and "Morning by morning will I destroy all the wicked of the land";[2] Jeremiah cries, "Deliver up the children of them [that contend with me] to the famine, and give them over to the power of the sword; and let their wives become childless, and widows," yet proclaims, "I am merciful, saith the Lord, I will not keep anger for ever."[3] In other words, the two notions of mercy and wrath were so far from contradictory that they seemed but two sides of the same thing. There is no trace of to-day's common notion that God is mere mercy—and so none of the notion that man should be merely merciful. "Humanitarianism" is not an exact synonym for the Biblical idea.

Yet here, too, Jahvism began to surpass alien cults. In the first place, Jehovah was not capricious, as were other gods. The few last traces of the notion that a god's will must be obeyed, whether its grounds were moral or not,[4] serve only to bring out the usual distinction of Jehovah. He willed that which He was, Righteousness, and this merely because it was Righteousness. Again, the idea that the Lord was "long-suffering," found occasionally in older times,[5] now strengthened.[6] While His wrath against the obstinate at last was sure, His way was to postpone it in hope of penitence.[7] In the days when the god Asshur, cruelty incarnate, dominated the Hebrew world, Israel's Prophets taught that Jehovah had a tender heart.[8] Jeremiah thought of the Lord continually as "rising up early" to yearn over His erring people.[9] These

[1] Prov. xx. 26, 28.
[2] Ps. ci.
[3] Jer. xviii. 21, iii. 12. The passages in Additional Note 5 show how general this combination is—indeed, apart from the fact that Proverbs rather assumes than declares the wrath of Jehovah (*e.g.* xi. 4), it is universal in the Monarchic documents.
[4] *e.g.* 1 Sam. xiv. 37 ff.; 2 Sam. xxi. 1 ff.
[5] *e.g.* Ex. xxxiv. 6.
[6] Used of Jehovah in Ex. xxxiv. 6; Num. xiv. 18; Nah. i. 3; Jer. xv. 15; and of man in Prov. xiv. 29, xv. 18, xvi. 32; *cf.* Lam. iii. 31 ff.; Prov. xv. 1, xxv. 15, and the term "Forgiveness."
[7] *e.g.* Hos. vi. 6; Mic. vii. 13.
[8] Hos. xiv. 4; Is. i. 18.
[9] Jer. vii. 13, xi. 7 f., xxv. 4, etc.

are theological doctrines, summarily put, but, as always in Israel, they drew sociological consequences with them. Israel began to learn its God's habit of mercy. Not Samuel's execution of Agag distinguished it from its neighbours but David's sparing to kill Saul, not Elisha's smiting of Gehazi with leprosy but his cleansing of Naaman, not Nahum's doom-song over Nineveh but Amos' denunciation of cruelty even among the nations without, not the prudential tone of Proverbs but such a saying as "He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his maker."[1] There began, too, to be mitigations of the ancient savagery of war.[2] A last text may be quoted from the vademecum of the Hebrew "man in the street." What a proverb is this—"If he that hateth thee be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink!"[3] Under the Hebrew Kings the duty of mercy to a fellow-worshipper came to be completely recognised, while even with the "heathen" it was not now altogether omitted, as some of the passages quoted show. Mercy and justice were complementary parts of Righteousness.

Peace: (1) *the Decay of Herem and of Family Feud*

The fourth element in Righteousness was peace. This shone in the Early Hebrew Ideal,[4] and, though obscured in the period before the Kings and especially at the epoch of the Conquest of Canaan, it had never died out. Even when Israel held that "the Lord is a man of war," His warfare's aim was His people's peace,[5] and before the Kings her ancient "Jihad" had begun to mitigate in the doctrine of the "Ger."[6] The Monarchy carried

[1] Prov. xiv. 31.

[2] For the general savagery of war see, for instance, 2 Sam. viii. 2, xii. 31; 1 Kings xi. 15; 2 Kings viii. 12, xv. 16, xxv. 7, 21; Hos. ix. 13, x. 14; Is. xv. 1 ff.; Nah. ii. 11, iii. 1, 10; and for its first mitigation in Israel—1 Kings xx. 31; 2 Kings vi. 22; Deut. xx. 10 f., xxi. 10 ff.; and the omission in Amos. ii. 4-16 of the charges of cruelty brought in i. 3–ii. 3. *Cf.* Additional Note 5.

[3] Prov. xxv. 21.

[4] See pp. 2 ff.

[5] See pp. 82 ff.

[6] See pp. 89 ff.

further the process and for the concept of a holy war substituted gradually the contrary one of a holy peace.

The first token of this was the passing of the practice of the extermination of foes. This had once been a religious custom with its distinctive term "Herem,"[1] and meant to early Israel, not destruction, but sacrifice. Utterly to "death-devote" the Canaanites, however, proved to be beyond Israel's strength, and in the defensive wars of the "Judges" the extermination of enemies—man and woman, child and slave, beast and goods—was still more obviously impossible. But on the revival of Israelite power under Saul, Samuel demanded the full revival of the ancient "Herem." He set Saul to "devote" the Amalekites—he demanded as utter a sacrifice as Joshua at Jericho.[2] This Saul and the people refused; now not a solitary Achan but the whole army robbed Jehovah! In truth Saul and Samuel were both wrong—the king meanly, the Prophet nobly. Among other tribes the practice became current of "devoting" to the god only what the warrior did not want for himself.[3] This was to degrade sacrifice into "superstition" and to bar the progress of religion. The story of the sparing of the useful part of the spoil of Amalek shows that under Saul, whose religion was always "superstitious,"[4] this use threatened to stultify "Jahvism," and Samuel's denunciation of it was just. Yet his own attempt to "put the clock back" was sure to be futile. Israel could not return upon her past;[5] the centuries since Joshua could not be ignored; an indiscriminate destruction was impossible now. David, in practice if not in theory, found the true path. With him there began a slow dissociation of the ideas of sacrifice and war. The word "Herem," for

[1] See p. 83.

[2] 1 Sam. xv. The historical basis of this story is generally admitted; the writer doubts whether, apart from *vv.* 22-25 *a*, even its form is late. *Cf.* 1 Sam. xxviii. 18.

[3] So in one of the Indian stories in Kipling's "Life's Handicap" ("Without Benefit of Clergy"), an old Muhammadan says of a birth-sacrifice that he had bought, "The flesh of the goats is mine."

[4] *Cf.* 1 Sam. xiii. 9, xiv. 33, 44, xv. 15; 2 Sam. xxi. 2.

[5] 1 Sam. xiv. shows how old notions were changing (*vv.* 19, 33, 45).

instance, even when it would seem most apt,[1] is never used of his campaigns. Again, Saul had attacked the Gibeonites and so had revived in part the old "Jihad" against the Canaanite; David repaired the error.[2] Modern study makes it likely that he did far more—that his statesmanship lay in the welding of the two races into one. It is possible that even the stronghold of the Jebusites yielded rather to conciliation than force.[3] Long before David's time the duty of "devoting" the Canaanite had perforce begun to be neglected, but with him it ceased even to be recognised. So the "Herem" perished in its chief instance. There are isolated hints of the practice later,[4] but after David it dwindled to death.[5]

David's era saw also the beginning of the dissolution of another ancient use—the Blood-feud of families or "Private War."[6] Its classic instance in Israel began when Saul flung his javelin at David;[7] among its romantic incidents were Jonathan and David's league and David's refusal to kill his sleeping foe;[8] its trail of blood lay from Asahel to Abner, Abner to Ishbosheth, Ishbosheth to Joab, Joab to Shimei;[9] without it Rizpah had not sat by her dangling corpses.[10] What a tragedy had Æschylus framed from such a tale! Its witness to the beginning of the passing of Private War falls into two parts. It is stated that when David mourned for Abner "all the people took notice of it, and it pleased them."[11] Such customs sometimes lose the approval of the common people, as the modern instance of the duel shows, long before they disappear from "noble" families. The Blood-feud seems to have reached this stage in Israel

[1] *e.g.* 1 Sam. xxvii. 8 f., xxx. 17.
[2] 2 Sam. xxi. 1-14.
[3] G. A. Smith, "Jerusalem," ii. p. 32; *cf.* 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 ff.
[4] 1 Chron. iv. 41; *cf.* 1 Kings xx. 42.
[5] *Cf.* 1 Kings xx. 31; 2 Kings vi. 22. The term "Herem," of course, could still be used of heathen at war (2 Chron. xx. 23; Dan. xi. 44), and the promise "There shall be no more ban" (Zech. xiv. 11) was just as welcome to the later Israel that suffered through others' "Herem," as it would have been unwelcome to the early Israel that exulted in its own. Ezra x. 8 shows that ultimately things only and not persons were "devoted" in Israel.
[6] See pp. 71 ff.
[7] 1 Sam. xviii. 11.
[8] 1 Sam. xxiv. 26.
[9] 2 Sam. ii. 23, iii. 27, iv. 6, xvi. 5 ff.; 1 Kings ii. 32, 46.
[10] 2 Sam. xxi. 7.
[11] 2 Sam. iii. 26; *cf.* xx. 12.

by David's time. The contrast with nomadism is here complete.[1]

But even within the two great families themselves there were two parties. The Sons of Zeruiah practised against Abner, and would have had David practise against Saul and Shimei, the usual utter ruthlessness;[2] Saul blamed his son because he would not share his feud;[3] Shimei imputed to David the universal murder of enemies that he would himself have practised in a like place;[4] the murderers of Saul and Ishbosheth expected from David not execution but reward;[5] even Solomon inflicted on the aged Shimei the vengeance that his father had left to the Lord.[6] Over against these there were three who in different degrees already took the same side as the people. A fugitive's self-defence is usually the most unscrupulous of all, yet Abner in his flight tried hard to avoid feud with Asahel and his family, and it is plain from the story's tone that the almost contemporary historian approved his act.[7] A yet nobler member of the same family as he, Jonathan, refused his father's unrighteous feud against David though to his own house's sure hurt.[8] David himself, however, is the great illustration. Old custom bade him follow the feud with Saul and his house to the bitter end, but he stood steadily out against it through all the years. Whether in victory or defeat, fugitive or king, he would not slay one of Saul's house. And the ground of his protest was continually "This is not righteous." So he withheld his hand from Saul himself, mourned Abner,

[1] *Cf.* Patton, *American Journal of Theology* (1901), p. 707—"Very rarely the avenging tribe proposed blood-wit. To do this a tribe must have lost its tribal pride, and must be prepared to endure the contempt of all true Arabs."

[2] 1 Sam. xxvi.; 2 Sam. iii., xvi. 19.

[3] 1 Sam. xx. 30.

[4] 2 Sam. xvi. 8.

[5] 2 Sam. i. 4, iv. 7 f.

[6] 1 Kings ii. Solomon feared Joab's enmity and in a less degree Shimei's; he, unlike David, sank to the Eastern method of removing competitors; and he cloaked his act under pretence of secret instructions from his father. He had stronger reasons for slaying Joab than had David (1 Kings ii. 28), but he found a more popular reason for the deed than his own private ones in the recollection of the murders of Abner and Amasa (1 Kings ii. 5; *cf.* 2 Sam. iii. 32 ff., xx. 12). 1 Kings ii. 5 ff. can *only* be *Solomon's account* of his father's instructions.

[7] 2 Sam. ii. 18 ff.

[8] *e.g.* 2 Sam. xx. 32.

avenged Ishbosheth, spared pitiless Shimei,[1] and

"Made the fair beginnings of a time."

No doubt the Blood-feud took long to die, and the silence of subsequent history does not allow of the fixing of dates, but sooner or later David's policy prevailed against it as well as against "Herem."[2] It secured at last that all who served Jehovah, whether Canaanite or Hebrew, should be at peace. Israel learnt from a great example that restraint is nobler than power.

A hint may be added from the history of the custom of the Manslayer. This had always been distinct from the Blood-feud, the one being the ancient Israelite's defence against a murderer *within* a community, the other against a murderer *without* it.[3] During the Monarchy, however, the law of the Manslayer seems gradually to have encroached on the custom of Blood-feud until it ousted it, for, while Deuteronomy still treats the former only as governing cases of murder within a single village,[4] the latest of Hebrew Codes applies it to all murders within Israel.[5] In other words, after the Exile every Hebrew was thought of as a fellow-member in a single great community, and so there was no room for Blood-feud proper. Nor had it then recently ceased, for the Priestly writer, professedly recalling the past, silently assumes that the law of the Manslayer had always been as wide as the nation. The more regular administration of law under the Monarchy robbed the Blood-feud of its ancient justification. Probably it was extinct some time before the Exile. Righteousness meant peace within Israel.

[1] 1 Sam. xxiv. 12, xxvi. 23; 2 Sam. iii. 24, iv. 11, xvi. 11; *cf.* 2 Sam. ii. 5 ff., ix. 1 ff. Another illustration of feud is David's quarrel with Nabal (1 Sam. xxv.). The freebooter, marching to avenge a sneer on Nabal's whole house, took the usual early course. His peculiarity here, too, was his admission of Abigail's plea that to do this were sin.

[2] Such massacres as Jehu's (2 Kings x. 7) are of course the common practice of Eastern monarchs quite apart from Blood-feud.

[3] See pp. 71 ff.

[4] *Cf.* Deut. xix. 4 f., 11 f.

[5] Num. xxxv. 24 f.—here the whole people is one "congregation" with a single High Priest at its head.

Peace: (2) *Peace by Suzerainty*

But though David pursued peace within Israel, he had another policy beyond its frontiers. There he "fought the Lord's battles."[1] This brings into view a new phase in Hebrew politics. Their earlier aim had been the peaceful possession of Canaan,[2] but Canaan is not really an isolated land and could not enjoy an isolated fate. The true geographical unit is the area shut in by the Desert on the South and East, the mountains on the North, and the "Great Sea" on the West. This area included, not only Canaan, but Aram, Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Ammon, and it is unfortunate that there is for it no single name. "Syria" is too wide. Perhaps "Aramæa" would serve. It was impossible that the various peoples in this area should let each other alone, and there are many tokens in the Old Testament history of its natural unity.[3] The political story of the times from David to Sargon is just the story of a struggle between its several races. In this story an Egyptian or an Assyrian invasion was but a passing episode. The constant problem was the interrelation of the little races themselves, and usually either Israel or Aram was seeking, maintaining, or losing a precarious suzerainty. From very early times the ideal limits of Israel's Promised Land sometimes included the whole area,[4] and, while there was usually a semi-religious truce between the two Hebrew kingdoms themselves, only their impotence suffered the independence of their neighbours. The suzerainty that David won[5] and Solomon enjoyed, remained the ambition of all Hebrew kings. For this they fought under the "Lord of Hosts."[6]

[1] *Cf.* 1 Sam. xiv. 6, xvii. 45 ff., xxv. 28, xxviii. 18; 2 Sam. v. 20, viii. 6, 14.

[2] See pp. 85 ff.

[3] *e.g.* 2 Sam. viii.; Ps. lx.; Amos i., ii.; Jer. xl. 11; Deut. xxiii. 3-8.

[4] *e.g.* Gen. xv. 18; Ex. xxiii. 31; Deut. xi. 24 f.; Josh. i. 3 f. (D); 2 Sam. viii., xii. 26 ff.; 1 Kings iv. 21, 24 (Exilic), xxii. 47; 2 Kings i. 1, iii. 4 ff., viii. 22; Amos ix. 12; Is. xix. 24.

[5] "David took the bridle of the mother city out of the hand of the Philistines" (2 Sam. viii. 1). *Cf.* Ps. cx.

[6] This name now first occurs in the Old Testament. Compare the practice of consulting Jehovah before a campaign—a practice in which David was particularly

Suzerainty, however, is not extermination—even against the alien without the Land there was now no "Herem."[1] This marks a real advance in the theory of peace, for it implies at any rate the recognition of another end to war than death. Again, the mere love of war was still absent—as the ultimate purpose of the invasion of Canaan had been its peaceful enjoyment, so that of the campaigns of the Kings was a peaceful suzerainty whose type was Solomon's reign.[2] Again, just as Israel had in sincerity believed that its crusade under Joshua was righteous, so now did it regard the hegemony of its little world as its due; that is, there is still no trace of the mere love of battle.[3] Beyond the limits of Israel's own rightful hegemony lay Phœnicia, Egypt, and the Euphrates' Valley. Had Hebraism been but an earlier Islam, Solomon's era had seen the preaching of a crusade against them. Instead there is in his own and his father's league with Tyre an early instance of truce due, not to mutual fear, but mutual advantage.[4] In it the notions lay implicit that nations should be content to "live and let live," and that the aim of diplomacy is not to secure an interval of peace as a mere means of recuperation for further war but to perpetuate peace itself.[5] Israel still held that a peaceful prosperity is a nation's best condition, and, if it was not prepared to yield its nearer neighbours the prosperity which it claimed for itself, the limitation had practical grounds. In the Eastern idea of perfect prosperity there is included escape from taxation.[6] If there were many "tributaries" this was possible. Suzerainty meant not merely the king's glory but the people's ease.

assiduous (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xiv. 37, xxviii. 6; 2 Sam. v. 19, 24, etc. etc.). So Israel's victories are explicitly assigned to God's help (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xix. 5; 2 Sam. v. 10, viii. 6, 14; 1 Kings xx. 13 ff.; 2 Kings xiii. 17; Deut. iv. 34, xxxi. 3 ff., xxxii. 41; Is. xxviii. 6; Hab. iii.; Ps xviii., xxiv. 7 ff., cx; Prov. xxi. 31; Deut. xx. 1).

[1] *Cf.* the limitation of the ancient conquest in Deut. ii. 5, 9.

[2] *e.g.* 1 Kings iv. 24 (Exilic); Ps. lxxii.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 31, 85.

[4] 2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Kings v. 6 ff.

[5] *Cf.* 1 Sam. iii. 1, x. 1, 29, xv. 6; 2 Sam. x. 2; Amos i. 9; Is. xix. 23.

[6] This lies behind the story of 2 Sam. xxiv., for a "census" was just the prelude to taxation.

Another consequence of the superseding of extermination by suzerainty was the growth of a large class of peaceful *fellahin*. Some social conditions forbid this. So long as to be conquered means to be slain and invasion is frequent or an enemy's settlements near, every man is more or less a soldier. This was Israel's plight under the "judges." But under the Kings invasion became comparatively rare, its success no longer meant extermination, and its first pressure fell on the treasuries at Jerusalem. So long, again, as a change of rule means an unusual pillage or an added stress of taxation a man has stimulus to fight, but, when government degenerates into mere extortion and it becomes immaterial to the cultivator who his exactor is, this ceases. For instance, in the struggles of the many little native states before the British occupation of India the ryots probably took little willing part, for at most the issue meant for them only a change of masters. In such circumstances fighting becomes more or less the peculiar business of the professional soldier, the "man of war." So it is unlikely that the mass of the Israelite people took much part in the struggles for the Northern throne;[1] the South, on the other hand, enjoyed freedom from dynastic quarrels;[2] both conditions favoured the growth of a peaceful class.

Further, while a cultivator must needs rally to a Gideon to save his crops, their care forbade his following a Joab on a lengthy and distant campaign against Ammon. So, as there arose a distinction between the "host of Israel" and the "men of war,"[3] the muster of the former grew rare, and a large class of cultivators whose calling was peaceful and whose interests were peace slowly arose.[4] To them war would be a "necessary evil." Jehovah was, indeed, the "Lord of Hosts," but He was war's master

[1] Compare Elijah's unsuccessful attempt effectively to rouse "the people" against Jezebel—1 Kings xviii. and xix. (especially xviii. 19, 21, 39, 40, xix. 2, 10, 18.).

[2] The one ruler not of David's line was Athaliah, and her the priests and the "guard" overthrew—the "people's" support, though real, being merely passive (2 Kings xi.).

[3] See p. 119.

[4] *e.g.* 2 Sam. xx. 19; Mic. ii. 8.

in order that by the defence of Israel's own land and the domination of her proper tributaries He might secure for His own people the benefits of peaceful prosperity. While Israel's ambition now was to be "the head and not the tail" in her little world,[1] she meant by this the enjoyment of a suzerain's advantageous peace.[2]

Peace: (3) a League of Nations

But just as the theory of peace by extermination gave way to that of peace by suzerainty, so this in turn was at last to succumb to the nobler theory still of peace by consent. Once again the history of Israel explains its creed's evolution. The coming of the Assyrian ended the isolation of the group of little Palestinian states and brought them into the arena of world-politics. Though their area is naturally separate and has usually formed a distinct province in any empire within whose scope it has fallen, yet it has almost always since Sargon's day been politically but a part of a larger whole, and usually of an empire ambitious of universal sway. Isaiah, Sennacherib's contemporary, was the first Prophet of Israel whose thought took habitually a universal mould.[3] All her greatest thinkers have been universal since. The significant passage for this extension of view is a text in Isaiah's vision—"the fulness of the whole earth is His glory."[4]

Assyria, however, was incarnate war. She practised its cruelty with the old ferocity of savage tribes. Israel learnt now, not the advantages, but the horrors of conquest.[5] She was now "the tail and not the head," and felt the bitter wrong of a pitiless levy of tribute.[6] Nor was even this all. There remained the continual peril that the nation should be transported into the captivity of a distant land and there sink indistinguishably into the

[1] Deut. xxviii. 13.
[2] *e.g.* 2 Sam. viii.
[3] See p. 117.
[4] Is. vi. 3.
[5] See the Assyrian inscriptions, and *cf.* Deut. xxviii. 25-68 (a description written at the height of Assyrian power); Nah. iii.; 2 Kings xv. 20.
[6] *e.g.* 1 Kings xx. 1 ff.; 2 Kings xvii. 3 ff.; xviii. 14 ff.

mass of an alien empire—a peril consummated for Ephraim and hardly escaped by Judah. Finally, not only was Assyria's god, like Jehovah, a "lord of hosts," and Assyrian conquest, as much as Israelite, a holy thing,[1] but "Asshur" loved war for its own sake and exulted in the glut of cruelty. Such a god and such a people seemed in Isaiah's day to be grasping the world with the certainty of omnipotence.

It has become usual recently to belittle the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib. As well belittle Marathon! Doubtless an army's loss seemed as small a thing to the Assyrian as to the Persian monarch, yet on the issue hung the whole progress of the human race. And the chief gain was not the tangible safety of a city but that immaterial thing, a theory. The alternatives before Israel were both final—either Jehovah must succumb to "Asshur" as did other gods, and His people disappear as others in a common welter,[2] or there must be claimed for Him all that was claimed for "Asshur" and more. It fell to a single man, as the last Hebrew fortress seemed to be keeping but the vigil of its own destruction, to dare the latter alternative. Isaiah's insight was as peerless as his courage. He foretold a universal empire but not "Asshur's," under a monarch whose glory was not war but peace, an empire whose peoples should no more cower beneath a suzerain[3] but welcome a father's sway.[4] His climacteric vision of a world at peace is just the contradiction of Assyria's whole ideal. In the hey-day of her power he gave her the lie for God. Towards the realisation of his vision, at first unconsciously but now with willing avowal, mankind has slowly but surely moved. Isaiah foretold "the League of Nations." Principle settles destiny, and the menace of Assyria provoked in a puny people's Prophet the first assertion of the pure principle of peace. It can only come by a common

[1] The Assyrian Inscriptions show that Nineveh's was an empire by "Jihad."

[2] *e.g.* 2 Kings xviii. 31 ff.

[3] It is significant that one of the Hebrew terms for "submit," כחש, means literally "feign" (*e.g.* Ps. xviii. 45).

[4] Is. ii. 2-4, ix. 6 f., xi. 1-9, xix. 19-25.

consent to Righteousness. After this, compulsion and war are never in the Bible Jehovah's delight. They are only His tool of discipline or His scourge of sin.[1] So, too, a true king is a "Prince of Peace."[2]

Another change is implied. The creed that Jehovah would, of course, enforce Israel's right to Canaan and to suzerainty in its little world, gave way gradually[3] to the truth that He aids those whose cause is "righteous," be they Hebrew or not, and none others. For instance, Nahum's doom-song over Nineveh delights in Assyria's ruin, not so much because she was his country's foe, as because she had been unrighteousness enthroned. So the Deuteronomist and the Prophets preach, not only that Jehovah would not defend His own people if they sinned, but that He would even set other nations "at" them and see to it that those other nations won.[4] How great a contrast between the early belief that Jehovah would give His people Canaan if only they yielded Him as much as He demanded of consecrate spoil, and the Prophets' declaration that God would drive them from their own land if they were unrighteous, however assiduously worshippers "trampled His courts!"[5] The whole difference depends on the slow evolution of the concept of God's nature and so of Righteousness, but the formal creed was constant that Jehovah justified war as a means to a right end—not with a theoretical justification but by practical success. Here is a signal example how national ethics passed into universal.[6]

[1] The classical passage here is the one that leads up to Isaiah's prophecy of peace (Is. x. 5 ff.).

[2] Is. ix. 6.

[3] *Cf.* p. 31.

[4] *e.g.* Deut. xxviii.; Hos. v. 8 ff.; Amos ix. 1 ff.; Is. viii. 6 ff., x. 5 ff., xxxiii. 1 ff.; Mic. i. 2 ff.; Hab. i. 6 ff.; Zeph. iii. 1 ff.; Jer. *passim.* This is *the* burden of Jeremiah from his call (i. 10; *cf.* xviii. 7 ff.) onwards. For the earlier history of the idea see 1 Sam. xxv. 28; 2 Sam. xxi. 1 ff.; 1 Kings xii. 21 ff.; 2 Kings iii. 14, vi. 22 f., ix. 3 ff., xiii. 4; Deut. ii. 4-9.

[5] Is. i. 12.

[6] This is seen in another way when a distinction is made within Israel between the righteous whom Jehovah accepts and the wicked whom He rejects—*i.e.*, He does not bless a man merely because he is Hebrew. The distinction appears in the doctrine of the "remnant" (*e.g.* Is. x. 22) and in the denunciations of the Psalms (*e.g.* Ps. iii. 7).

Peace: (4) *the Peaceable*

Again, while the explicit connexion of peace with Righteousness was of course frequent,[1] here too there was a change in the content of the old idea. Peace, denoting at first a merely external condition, came to refer primarily to an inward disposition—it came to mean peaceableness. With this change it ceased to be so much a consequence of Righteousness as an element in that great quality. In one of Isaiah's crowning visions[2] the constraint, not of outward power, but of inward desire, gives the world rest; into the universal realm of Jesse's Son nations *choose* to go; He does not drive His flock of "the peoples" but they follow Him; outward peace is the fruit of inward peaceableness.

Another token of this change is the remarkable series of Old Testament passages in praise of meekness In the growth of a large class of peaceable *fellahin* other nations have been like Israel, but usually their ancient books ignore or despise the ryot and extol the warrior as the type of true manliness.[3] Especially is this so in periods when the survival of nations depends on their power in war. This was Israel's plight throughout the Monarchy, and there are hints in her records of the superlative reputation of the soldier,[4] yet these hardly more than enhance the singularity of the Hebrew praise of the meek. The radical discovery for the triumph of peace is that it is nobler than war, and that to love peace is more manly than to fight. Israel made this discovery. This does not mean that her people became pusillanimous—for no one could call Isaiah or Jeremiah a coward—but between David and the Maccabees none of her great men was a soldier. Her Prophets were her great men, and they were brave enough to praise peace. Not David's victories

[1] *e.g.* Is. ix. 6 f., xxxii. 17, xxxiii. 17 ff.; Mic. iv. 4, v. 5, 10; Jer. xvi. 5, xxx. 10, xxxiii. 6; Ps. lxxii. 7.

[2] Is. ii. 2 ff.

[3] The writer did not fully recognise how natural this is until he saw the Nizam's Arab swashbucklers swaggering in the streets of Hyderabad.

[4] *e.g.* the catalogue of David's worthies (2 Sam. xxiii.) and 1 Kings ix. 22.

but Solomon's peaceful magnificence was reckoned the summit of Israel's greatness. That he chose this earned him the praise of God.[1] There is even better evidence in such texts as these—"The meek also shall increase their joy in the Lord,[2] "Seek ye the Lord, all ye meek of the earth . . . seek righteousness, seek meekness,"[3] "Thy gentleness hath made me great,"[4] "In thy majesty ride on prosperously, because of truth and meekness—righteousness,"[5] "He loveth transgression that loveth strife,"[6] "It is an honour for a man to cease from strife,"[7] "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all My holy mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."[8] By the will of God a universal meekness is to bring a universal peace.[9]

The Versatility of Righteousness

The whole literature of the Monarchy is the long application of the principle of Righteousness—in its four elements of justice, truth, mercy, peace—to the complex problems of the new society. The value of the versatility of principle, as contrasted with the fixity of law, at once appears. Principle is ready for all emergencies, adequate to every novel as to every ancient problem. The one persistent doctrine of the Monarchy's sacred books, amid their manifold variety of form, is that Righteousness, as the known will of God, is the one thing needful. This might easily be shown *seriatim* for all the many social units enumerated in the last Section. Deuteronomy demands Righteousness in the family and the nation; Isaiah and Jeremiah cry out for a righteous city; David is the ideal of the righteous soldier; by the Monarchy's close the Prophets challenge every individual man, whether

[1] 1 Kings iii. 11. [2] Is. xxix. 19. [3] Zeph. ii. 3.
[4] Ps. xviii. 35. [5] Ps. xlv. 4. [6] Prov. xvii. 19.
[7] Prov. xx. 3. *Cf.* 1 Sam. ii. 1-10, and add the long prophetic defence of the "meek" against the "violent" and the Wise Man's praise of quietness and consideration for others.
[8] Is. xi 1-9. *Cf.* the whole series of passages quoted on pp. 150-152
[9] *Cf.* pp. 277 ff.

he be prophet or priest, king or courtier, prince or elder, to Righteousness; Isaiah foretells a righteous world. In other words, the problems of society hitherto left on one side by Hebrew theory,[1] were now faced and a universal solution propounded. The city, for instance, once the *peculium* of the alien,[2] and still the haunt of sin,[3] now took its place within the ideal of Israel,[4] and its loss betokened Jehovah's curse.[5] How apt Hebrew Righteousness was to some needs its delineation has revealed—its adequacy to others will appear below. Implicit hitherto in Israel's social theory, it now undertook its entire control. Though there were problems outside the scope of its current definition,[6] it was yet a magnificent approximation to perfection. The elucidation of Righteousness makes Hebrew literature a Bible.

Two "Leading Instances"

Of the practice of this principle, both in its breadth and its limitation, the literature of the Monarchy has an outstanding instance.

David, more than any other, is the hero of Israel. The Old Testament hopes for the perfect future centre round his name in a unique way. Why was this? Because, more than any other, he embodied the Hebrew ideal. It is true that twice his biographers describe his sin,[7] but it is not less true that in both cases they describe his penitence and that both episodes are treated as exceptional. For the rest the Hebrew historians tell his every story with all the zest of love. For them he was the "very perfect knight," the true man, the ideal king—at once the Hereward, the Alfred, and the Arthur, of Israel. History explains this love. The story of the Hebrew Monarchy

[1] See pp. 22 f., 98.
[2] See pp. 17 f., 53.
[3] *e.g.* Is. xxxii. 9-20; Mic. i. 5, iii. 10, v. 10 ff.; Zeph. i. 10 ff., iii. 1 ff. Hab. ii. 12; Jer. *passim*; Ezek. *passim*.
[4] *e.g.* Is. ii. 3; Mic. iv. 8; Zeph. iii. 14 ff.; Ps. xlvi. 4 ff.; Jer. xxxi. 38; Ezek. xl.
[5] *e.g.* Is. xxxii. 14, 19; Mic. v. 10-15; Zeph. i. 10 ff.; Jer. *passim*; Ezek. *passim*.
[6] *e.g.* pp. 213 ff, 277 ff.
[7] 2 Sam. xi. and xxiv.

opens with a study in contrast. The struggle between Saul and David was really a conflict between a current and a progressive ideal of kingship. The issue at stake was whether the Israelite kingship was to be but one more oriental monarchy or something distinct. In spite, therefore, of Saul's warlike success against the enemies of the Lord, the Prophets of the time consistently supported David.[1] The whole story of Saul displays the usual character of a soldier who has clutched a throne—his humouring of the army, his knowledge that failure in the field would be fatal, his unscrupulousness in the removal of rivals.[2] The last quality is the most significant. The theory that there is one morality in statecraft and another for common life, is as ancient as kingship, and the East has always taken it as an axiom of self-defence that a despot will exterminate competitors. But here Israel refused to conform to type. Abishai's common doctrine that to refuse to kill a rival is to thwart Providence, gave way to David's that this, too, is murder,[3] and Saul confessed his own failure when he cried to David "Thou art more righteous than I."[4] The Son of Jesse founded his throne on Righteousness.

Again, once king, he gave his people peace ;[5] his vindication of the poor in judgement was so certain that men used it as a sure way to his heart ;[6] he declined the Blood-feud ; his faithfulness to Jonathan bewitched his people's soul ; his forbearance against Shimei was the morning-star of meekness.[7] As confusion had preceded, so oppression followed his reign, and Israel hoped for another king like him as watchers hope for the morning. Though later "Righteousness" won a deeper meaning than he knew, men crowned his distant figure with the halo of

[1] 1 Sam. xvi. 1 ff., xix. 18, xxii. 5, xxviii. 6.

[2] 1 Sam. xv. and xxviii.

[3] 1 Sam. xxiv. 4 ff., xxvi. 8 ff. Later Hebrew kings, of course, often fell below this ideal—*e.g.* 1 Kings ii. 23, 34, xv. 29, xvi. 11, xviii. 4, xxi. 13 ; 2 Kings vi. 32, viii. 15, ix. 31, x. 6 f., xii. 20 f., xxi. 16, xxiv. 4 ; Is. i. 21 ; Jer. vii. 6, xxii. 3, xli. 2. Jer. xxvi. 8 ff. shows how easily political murder could borrow legal form.

[4] 1 Sam. xxiv. 17.

[5] See pp. 143 ff.

[6] 2 Sam. xii. 1 ff., xiv. 15 ; *cf.* 1 Sam. xxx. 22.

[7] 2 Sam. xvi. 5 ff., xix. 16 ff.

ideal still. They looked for a ruler who should be a true son of David, another embodied Righteousness. Over Isaiah's perfect Kingdom there could be but one King, a scion of Jesse.[1]

Side by side with this old instance of the practice of Israel's Righteousness, a modern one may be placed. However little the typical Englishman of to-day suspects that his ideal of conduct is that of the Hebrew Monarchy, the four qualities that constituted Hebrew Righteousness define it. He glories in being "straight," by which he means that in all his dealings—even in those where unfairness can evade law or escape discovery—he is just; as to "faithfulness," his word is his bond and his pride is that in the circle of his commerce his trustworthiness is an axiom; his ready "mercy" has made ours distinctively the humanitarian age; he hates war as the next worst evil to wrong. While, of course, many fall below this level, in the best "men of the world" Prophetic Righteousness has become the practised ideal of English life.[2]

Yet they would rightly repudiate the word "righteous" because it connotes religion. Merely to be just, merciful, truthful, peaceable is not now the monopoly of the religious. In other words, the religious ideal of old time has become the secular one of to-day. It has become so through the preaching and practice of religious men. It is the consequence of the Bible. "Heathen" civilisations may in some one particular have surpassed this ideal—as, for instance, the Chinese in the practice of peace—but none has equalled Christendom's attempt to realise it wholly. The criticism that religion has no social message being common, it needs to be emphasised that the "world's" own ideal is the gift of the Church. Some may complain that the above discussion of justice, truth, mercy, and peace, is only an elaboration of the commonplace, but what is now usual was once a discovery, and the

[1] Is. xi. 1; *cf.* Is. ix. 7, xvi. 5; Jer. xvii. 25, xxii. 4, xxiii. 5, xxx. 9, xxxiii. 15; 1 Kings iii. 6.

[2] Similarly, it would be easy to show that justice, truth, mercy, and peace are just England's four great gifts to India.

discoverers were men of God. As other ancient races passed from a simple to a complex civilisation they retained only the memory of their forefathers' virtue, for its modern practice would have seemed as impossible an anachronism as a universal return to the keeping of sheep, but Israel's ideal not only survived but progressed. Her preachers found a principle apposite to the complexity of civilisation, and all Christendom is their debtor still. The Prophetic fourfold Righteousness has as great a place in the history of conduct as Plato's fourfold virtue in that of thought.

The Sequel of Righteousness

Lastly, as the worth of Righteousness came fully to be recognised, its relation to prosperity changed. Undoubtedly Israel in her early age, as other peoples in theirs, had thought of material prosperity as the "chief end of man." To enjoy a bountiful land was her concept of national bliss, and for long right conduct was thought of as the means to this end. Deuteronomy here again marks the culmination of an early idea. Its burden is—Be righteous and so enjoy Canaan.[1] The valuable element in this is that Righteousness, or the doing of Jehovah's will, was held *the only* means to the end of prosperity;[2] the two were inseparable in the minds of Israel's teachers. But during the Monarchy the emphasis gradually moved, Righteousness taking the primary place and prosperity becoming its adjunct instead of its end. It is impossible to read the Prophets and think that they were more anxious that Israel should be wealthy than righteous. It is true that the association of the two ideas remained, that every Prophet of this epoch taught that prosperity is the certain and invariable outcome of Righteousness, but under the later Monarchy every teacher also taught that Righteousness itself is the proper end of men and nations. No

[1] Deut. vi. 18, xvi. 20, xxx. 15 ff., etc., and especially ch. xxvii. *Cf.*, for instance, Gen. xxii. 16 ff., xxviii. 13 ff.; Ex. xxiii. 20 ff.; Judg. ii. 11 ff.; 1 Sam. xii.

[2] *e.g.* Hos. i. 7; Is. iii. 10 f., xxxiii. 13 f.; Mic. iv. 1 ff.; Jer. vii. 3, xviii. 7 ff.; xxxiv. 13 ff.; Pss. vii., lii.; Prov. x. 2 f., 22, xxi. 21.

longer external circumstance but character was reckoned principal. Once again Isaiah's description of the Kingdom of Jesse's Scion is a chief illustration. Its readers are conscious, indeed, that the perfect Kingdom is to be prosperous as well as righteous, but, while its prosperity is only implied, picture or jubilant picture it glows with Righteousness.[1] So again Jeremiah's deepest word about the future was his discovery of conscience—"I will put My law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it"—and conscience is independent of success.[2] The way lay open to the creed that Righteousness is God's will for man, though prosperity may not always attend it, and that God sees to it that every man has the opportunity of the achievement of the greater though he may lack the opportunity of the less. It is remarkable that a book often reckoned utilitarian should come nearest at this time to the direct statement of this truth—"Better is a little with righteousness, than great revenues with injustice."[3] While the problem of the separation of Righteousness and prosperity was not yet urgent, under the Kings Israel unconsciously prepared to meet it. She ceased to think of Righteousness as the mere tool of a perfect society. It was no longer a means; it had become the end.

Section D.—The Principle of Accommodation

The Definition of the Principle

Social theories often perish rather at the hands of history than of criticism. To-day not the easy criticism of the dictum that "all men are born free and equal" is most likely to undermine American confidence in pure democracy, but experience of Cuban and Filipino, immigrant Chinaman and emancipated Negro. Again, China's

[1] Is. xi. 1-9. *Cf.* ii. 2-4 (to which Micah makes the *addendum* of explicit prosperity, Mic. iv. 4).

[2] Jer. xxxi. 33. Hosea also, in particular, makes comparatively little of the material consequences of Israel's sin—it was her unrighteousness itself that broke his heart. Amos, too, portrays a famine of worship as worse than a famine of bread (Amos viii. 11 f.).

[3] Prov. xvi. 8; *cf.* xv. 16.

ancient satisfaction with the Confucian theory has in a lifetime succumbed to the rude experience of the actual West. So the united pressure of Philistine invasion and internal confusion obliged Israel, as has been seen, to abandon democracy for monarchy.

When such historical changes occur, one of two fates befalls the earlier social ideal. Either it becomes a mere memory—sometimes regretted and sometimes despised,—or the discovery is made that the obsolete system was but the temporary and partial embodiment of a nobler ideal and that this ideal is not inadequate to the new world of fact. Imperial Rome's abandonment of her Republican freedom illustrates the one, England's slow transformation of her Parliament the other. An ancient race in time of change could only maintain the belief that its past and present history were alike the expression of its god's will, if it were able to choose the second alternative. Nations shut up to the first lose the continuity of national life and slowly decay. This fate is befalling the Buddhist and Muhammadan races to-day. So in Old Testament times, not Aram or Philistia, but Israel survived, for its ideal alone suited a world as well as a tribe. Only from Israel could Isaiah spring. An ideal in history, like a seed in the soil, must change in one of two ways—it must perish or grow.

There is involved here the postulate that history is a process, not of mere change, but of organic growth, and that of ideals as of plants the law holds "first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." Of all living things it is true that they change while they remain the same, and historic ideals are living things. This book seeks to exhibit the growth of such an ideal from seed to flower, and already some of its details illustrate the phenomenon of continuity amid change. The development of the doctrine of peace, the passing of the nomad's unlimited liberty into the free equality of the democracy of families, the beginning of the evolution of the love of one's neighbour, are instances. A historian will justify each opinion in its turn if it mark a true advance towards

the perfect expression of the ideal. He will not expect a flower to spring direct from a root, but will be content awhile with a leaf. Similarly, the ruler of an inferior race will not always enact for it a law that requires it to reach at once his level but will be content to lead it one step at a time. So in parts of Africa a European suzerain might for a while tolerate household slavery though he crushed the slave-raider, and so in India Britain does not attempt the direct abolition of child-marriage but seeks slowly to raise the legal marriageable age. Men of religion think of God as educating humanity in a similar way. He does not at once command His last ideal, for probably men would no more be able to understand its exposition than a babe to understand beauty. God is content if men advance towards the ideal stage by stage. He requires immediately, not an impracticable perfection, but progress. He adopts what is here called the principle of Accommodation.

The examples just given, however, suppose that an outside observer notes a process of which the subjects are unaware, or at least for which they are not responsible. A nation may be unconscious of the evolution that a historian's retrospect reveals; the Hindu may be quite ignorant of the ultimate purpose of the lenient rigour of his ruler's law; Israel did not know that when God gave it Abraham as its ideal man He was preparing it for the concept of a world at peace. The principle of Accommodation becomes really operative in social theory when a society's members, or at least its leaders, are themselves conscious of an ideal that is for the present impracticable. A society that is still to flourish or even survive does not on this discovery relegate the ideal to dreamland but sets itself gradually to realise it. Since it cannot leap at once to the level of its vision, it makes a ladder thither of many rungs, and it is content if its next step be upward. It accepts that which it knows to be imperfect if only it be progressive. It recognises its own subjection to the laws of growth, and, though set upon the flower in summer, it is content with the leaf in spring. The principle of

Accommodation is then practised, not by a superior outsider, but by those it regulates, and in accepting it they become its masters. Its definition is that, while perfection must be the *ultimate* end of any accepted social change, it is enough if progress towards that end be the change's *immediate* result.

The Emergence of Accommodation in Israel

This conscious adoption of the principle of Accommodation by a race can only come at a comparatively advanced stage in national development, for it presupposes that a people has become aware both of its responsibility for its own aims and of an ideal whose immediate realisation is impracticable. To expect of Israel in the days of the "judges" that it should seek the peaceful possession of Canaan as but a step towards a world-wide peace, "broad-based upon the people's will," were like expecting a boy to play cricket as but a step to a healthy body. Not children but adults "take exercise"; not Joshua but Isaiah thought of Jehovah's worship as ground of universal peace.

At what time did Israel become conscious that it had an ideal that was immediately impracticable? Not earlier than the first written prophecies. Until then its conscious ends had been no more than a prosperous people's possession of Canaan or its peaceful hegemony of the surrounding states, and the direct attainment of neither seemed at all impossible. It was indeed held that the one way to attain them was by the practice of the Lord's righteous will, but then this was so simply conceived that its fulfilment too looked quite practicable. So much is assumed, for instance, on every page of Deuteronomy. When, however, the concept of Righteousness began to supplant prosperity as the chief element in the ideal,[1] and its definition began to deepen, it became obviously impossible that the whole nation should at once attain it. This would be the more clear as the individual's importance

[1] See pp. 158 f.

in society was at the same time beginning to appear,[1] for now to attain the ideal *every* man must be righteous. Further, when the scope as well as the depth of the ideal grew and it included not merely a nation but a world, its realisation suffered further postponement. It was the "writing Prophets" who first contrasted the failure of Israel's practice with her ideal's splendour. The story of their time is that of a widening gap between the unrighteousness of the majority and the hope of a few. As their hope brightened, the people's failure seemed darker. Yet they never faltered into theorising. They were sure of the glory of the future, and when it seemed most distant they yet urged Israel to plod upwards to it step by step. Like Jacob's Ladder their visions at once rested on the earth and sprang to heaven.

Some Marks of Accommodation

How important, or rather how essential, the principle of Accommodation is to a nation's life when it has become conscious of an ideal that is immediately impracticable, is evident. It is the one bridge between practice and perfection. Yet its abuse is at once as terrible, as easy, and as common, as the abuse of a knife. The assassin, the tyrant, the fatalist, the suffragette, all appeal to it. The full discussion of its nature and limits belongs to the general science of politics,[2] but, as its operation will again and again appear in the sequel, and as it is used here in one of its narrower senses, some of its marks when applied to the social doctrine of the Bible may be briefly stated.

The first of these distinguishes it from mere submission to change. On such inevitable social alteration as befell Israel when her Monarchy began, it is easy to excuse and tolerate the adoption of a slightly less noble custom as "the best practicable now." Clearly the term "accom-

[1] See pp. 112 ff.

[2] Its primary question is, "When does a perfect end justify an imperfect means?"—and the answer is neither "always" nor "never."

modation" could be applied to this, but what is meant then is not an ideal's realisation by progressive change, but its gradual abandonment. The subtilty of life often makes the two strangely alike. Change may be either a gradual defeat or a gradual victory. The same rock may be either a stumbling-block or a stepping-stone. The Prophets accepted the Hebrew Monarchy, but their very *raison d'être* was their insistence that its use was to lift Israel nearer to the practice of Righteousness and not to excuse its decline to the level of the older kingdoms about it. Accommodation does not merely submit to change, but makes it the ideal's tool.

In this characteristic of Accommodation another is involved. If a new institution at any time cease to serve the ideal, it must be abandoned. This was the fate of the Hebrew Monarchy. Its usefulness under a David gave way to its abuse under a Manasseh, and with the Exile it disappeared. Further, a helpful institution must disappear, not only if it fail, but also on its success! It is the nature of means to be temporary. Every aid to the progress of growth disappears before the austere intolerance of the perfect. Yet it is hard to abandon an institution because it has served so well! This, however, was the fate alike of Prophecy and Priesthood in Israel. Neither of them was perfect and the coming of the Christ made both superfluous. Accommodation ends by burning its own tools.

There is another connexion between this principle and the ideal. From the foot of a mountain a certain peak perhaps seems the summit, but, if the slow path thither be taken, presently the mounting traveller turns some shoulder of rock to find that peak near but to espy a higher beyond. So, if a society plod stage by progressive stage towards the noblest ideal it yet knows, its very progress hastens its discovery of a still nobler aim. Progress makes evident the inadequacy of old definitions of perfection. To change the figure—practice and ideal aid each other as the alternate strokes of a canoe's paddle urge it forward. A nobler practice brings a nobler ideal,

and a nobler ideal in turn a nobler practice. A boy's hero is a youth, but a youth longs to be a man.

The Principle's First Instances in Israel

The Hebrew Monarchy saw four principal applications of the principle of Accommodation.[1] One grew out of the development of rank within Israel and issued in the Prophetic doctrine of the responsibility of privilege. This is treated in the next Section.[2] A second use applied the principle to wealth, a subject here omitted. The other two applications refer, not to a class within Israel, but to the nation as a unit. One of them, the justification of war as a means to Righteousness, follows directly upon the discussion of peace above.[3] The other is the Prophetic exposition of the temporary predominance of other nations over Israel. Both may be a little more fully examined.

The common man's recognition of the principle of Accommodation to-day is seen in the phrase "necessary evils"—though "necessary imperfections" were better—and to nothing is this phrase applied more than to war. That is to say, the thought of Christendom has on this subject reached the Prophets' standpoint. War is no longer an end in itself. Mankind has seen its last Sennacherib. Yet, though war is hated, it may be waged in a just cause, for not peace but a complete Righteousness is the ideal. This is just Isaiah's doctrine of the "Lord of Hosts." His vision of the peaceful realm of Jesse's Shoot is the climax and outcome of Jehovah's single-handed war—"Behold, the Lord, the LORD of Hosts, shall lop the boughs with terror: and the high ones of stature shall be hewn down, and the lofty shall be brought low. And He shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron, and Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one."[4] Only

[1] The use of law is another great illustration (*cf.* p. 127), but the principle of Accommodation was not effectively applied to it in Israel until the New Testament (*cf.* Chap. VI. Sect. C).

[2] See. pp. 168 ff.

[3] See pp. 142 ff,

[4] Is. x. 33 f. This prophecy may also serve to meet a subsidiary objection against the opinion that the Prophets accepted the principle of Accommodation.

after such a night of carnage could Isaiah greet the dawn of peace. Similarly, the very Prophet who gave literature the phrase, "Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace," exulted in Jehovah's sack of Nineveh—for to Nahum it was Jehovah who sacked it.[1] Indeed, the one fact that the characteristic name for God in the documents of the period was "Lord of Hosts" suffices to exhibit the legitimacy of war. Only it must be waged as a means to Righteousness, and when it had fully served that purpose it would cease. He who "maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the earth," is "The Lord of Hosts."[2]

But, though war seems to contradict an ideal of peace, this would not much trouble the ordinary Israelite, for as yet he did not share Isaiah's dream of a warless world. Under the later Kings there was another fact that directly thwarted his own and his fathers' ideal—Israel's submission to a suzerain. How could it be the will of Jehovah that His own people should not be free? Was there not here the undoing, at least in part, of the deliverance from Egypt that was His ancient fame?[3]

Had the Hebrew ideal in the day of Assyria still been but the nation's prosperity, there could have been no answer to this question, and the gods of the nations that had reached no higher notion of a divinity than that he secured his people in their land, naturally perished before the Assyrian assault. But Israel's Prophets accepted her temporary inferiority as a means of advance towards the nobler ideal of Righteousness. This is, for instance, just the doctrine of the Remnant in the vision of Isaiah's call, just the meaning of the names he gave his sons, just the exposition of his parable of Assyria as "the rod of

How, it may be said, should men admit an imperfect stage as a way to a perfect ideal when they expected the latter at once? The truth is that the Prophets expected the perfect kingdom *soon*, rather than at once. Always something else was to come first, as in this prophecy of Isaiah's the destruction of Assyrian power. Only, the Prophets did not know how many and protracted events must intervene.

[1] Nah. i. 15; *cf.* "Behold I am at thee, saith the Lord of Hosts" (G. A. Smith on Nah. iii. 5 in "Expositor's Bible").

[2] Ps. xlvi. 9, 11.

[3] *Cf.* Is. x. 24.

[God's] anger."[1] In the last passage this Prophet uses the very metaphor of the tool that so suits the principle of Accommodation. Isaiah found a place for Assyrian suzerainty in his doctrine of the universal providence of Jehovah, for by it God was goading Israel, or a part of it, to embrace His Righteousness—"A remnant shall return, even the remnant of Jacob, unto the mighty God."[2] To suffer the scourge of Nineveh was Israel's path to perfection.

It fell to Jeremiah, however, to preach a more difficult gospel still. At the height of Assyrian power Ephraim perished of exile. To destroy a race's nationality was indeed the very purpose of the ancient Empires' policy of the transportation of peoples, and it served the purpose well. In common thought exile was doom. Further, that a race should lose possession of its own land was the last evidence of its god's impotence, and a people's distinctive religion perished with its nationality. It had become a chief ground of Judah's loyalty to Jehovah that even at the pitch of Assyria's pride He had saved His city Jerusalem from Sennacherib. He had repeated in modern times His ancient deliverances and had so survived the neighbour gods. Judah's practical creed ran—"Jehovah lives; therefore Jerusalem cannot fall."

To say to a nation of such conviction that exile was now its God's own plan for it, seemed a kind of madness. Yet this was exactly Jeremiah's task. How faithfully and how laboriously he fulfilled it his whole book shows[3]—and how dismally he seemed to fail. None appeared steadfastly to heed him. Yet the whole subsequent history of his people is but the story of Jeremiah's true success. He taught the Jew how to be an exile and live. So his race has achieved the unparalleled survival of her wandering centuries. Jeremiah's triumph continues still. He won it by a new application of the principle of that great forerunner whom he seemed to contradict. As Isaiah preached that Assyrian oppression was a means to secure the final

[1] Is. vi. 13, vii. 3, viii. 3, x. 5, 15. [2] Is. x. 21.
[3] *e.g.* Jer. xxi. 8 ff., xxix. 4 ff., xxxviii. 2, 17 f.

righteous prosperity of Israel, so Jeremiah proclaimed that exile itself was Jehovah's method to bless. Both asserted the principle of Accommodation, but Jeremiah in the harder way. To-day's retrospect can hardly guess how unlikely and even ridiculous his relentless gospel seemed in his own time, for its success has obscured its absurdity, but it may be partly grasped from the almost universal issue of other races' exile. God thrust Judah on the dilemma of extinction or Righteousness. He and Jeremiah, though perhaps no other, were sure of the upshot. "Hear the word of the Lord, O ye nations, and declare it in the isles that are afar off; and say, He that scattered Israel will gather him! . . . for the Lord hath ransomed Jacob and redeemed him from the hand of him that was stronger than he. And they shall come and sing in the height of Zion . . . for I will turn their mourning into joy . . . and My people shall be satisfied with My goodness, saith the Lord."[1] A crucial instance at once manifested and vindicated the place of the principle of Accommodation in the doctrine of society.

Section E.—The Responsibility of Privilege

The Monopoly of Privilege

Three types of responsibility may be distinguished, all having their analogues in the relation of the members of a family. There is a father's responsibility for his child, a brother's for his brother, a child's for his father. To use terms of wider scope—there is the responsibility of a superior for an inferior, of equals for each other, of an inferior for his superior. The doctrine of the responsibility of equals, first forming in Israel in the period before the Monarchy,[2] made no signal advance during its centuries,[3] while the evolution of the doctrine of the responsibility of inferiors awaited the Exile.[4] The distinctive teaching

[1] Jer. xxxi. 10 ff.; *cf.* the whole series of prophecies, xxx. 1–xxxiii. 16, etc.

[2] See pp. 42 ff.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 206 ff. For this period see Deut. iii. 18 ff.; Josh. i. 12 ff.; Prov. xxiv. 11 ff.

[4] See pp. 213 ff; *cf.* Prov. xxv. 13.

of the time of the Kings related to the duties of superiors to inferiors—the Monarchy evoked the assertion of the responsibility of privilege.

The passage from democracy to monarchy involved the formal recognition of privileged classes.[1] Absolute equality is of course always impossible, since man's abilities naturally vary, but there is a difference between the inevitable inequalities of nature and the factitious inequalities of rank. A democracy denies everyone a privileged status, monarchy gives it to a few. King and Court now stood above the people.

In modern times privilege has four common forms. It may consist in the status of rank, or in the power of rule, in the abundance of wealth, or in the opportunity of leisure. But while to-day these are always in thought, and often in fact, separate kinds of privilege, in ancient times they went together. Antiquity, at least in the East, knew of no kings who did not rule, no aristocracy that was not rich, no nobility without power. The "plutocrat" again—the man who is merely rich—is unknown in the Old Testament. In Israel the same set of people, the King and the Court, united rank, power, wealth, and leisure. They all but monopolised privilege.

The Ministry of Privilege

It would not have been remarkable, therefore, if the Prophets, as representative of the people,[2] had denounced the novelty of monarchy and rank. The Old Testament traces of this temper, however, occur in the writings of those lovers of old ways, the Deuteronomists,[3] and not in the Prophets. The latter, on the contrary, make the appointment of a king Jehovah's act.[4] Unlike the Deuteronomists they looked not to the past, but to the future. Through their insight and care, therefore, Israel's ideal

[1] See pp. 119 ff. [2] See p. 122.

[3] *e.g.* Deut. xvii. 14 ff., xxviii. 36; 1 Sam. viii. 4 ff., x. 17 ff.

[4] Hosea included (Hos. viii. 4, x. 3, xiii. 10), in spite of i. 11—a formal but not a real contradiction. *Cf.* pp. 123 f.

survived the passing of the primitive democracy as a flower its sheath.

This does not mean, however, that the Prophets accepted monarchy as the final and fixed type of human society. This became the usual belief of the East. There it has for ages seemed a part of an inscrutable providence that there should be a king and a Court, and even that certain men should be kings and "king's servants." With this typical Oriental theory the Old Testament contrasts; as elsewhere, so here, the Prophets were protestant. They steadfastly asserted that monarchy and rank were but means to the achievement of the end of national Righteousness, and that Jehovah would not permanently tolerate either an individual or an institution that did not serve this end. Ultimately men of their line came to declare that the Monarchy had served its turn, and must, at least for a time, disappear. Continuously they denounced the abuse of power, of wealth, of leisure. Rank was for them but a means to progress. In other words, they brought it under the principle of Accommodation. Not that some man or men should rule others, but that all men should enjoy a prosperous Righteousness, was for the Prophets the final will of God. For them privilege was not the prize of a capricious fate, nor even primarily the Divine reward of merit, but a tool framed of Jehovah unto the nation's weal. They held that privilege is ministry.

This view of rank appears in many ways in the literature of the Monarchy,[1] but it may be illustrated sufficiently by the Prophets' denunciation of the Court, and by their doctrine of kingship. The Court—which included, be it remembered, practically the whole of the privileged classes—is never praised in the whole Old Testament! Always it is denounced! Yet the denunciation falls not on the Court as such, nor on the Court's enjoyment of privilege, but always and only on its abuse. The Prophets never assert that there ought to be no "princes" or royal

[1] *Cf.* the discussion of justice above (pp. 129 ff.). Two other leading instances occur in the Prophetic doctrines of wealth and leisure, subjects omitted here.

"judges" or military "rulers"; they accept the institution of privilege; but they cannot away with its "haughty" or "wanton" or "violent" use. The herdsman Amos, for instance, seems to have had a special animus against the "palaces" of the privileged cities,[1] and it would not have been surprising if he had denounced them as themselves wicked—for the frugal country has often railed against the luxurious town—but even in this extreme case it was not the wealth or luxury or power for which the "palaces" stood that the Prophet gibbeted, but the inhumanity, the "violence," the callousness, that degraded them. So again Jeremiah, in whose days "the worst had come to the worst" with the Court, and who continually included princes, priests, and prophets, in a single doom, yet frequently uses of them the name "shepherd."[2] They had a right to rule, had they not abused it. Every Prophetic commination of the Court has the same character.[3] Its officers are put beside the priest and the Prophet—like them they were ordained of Jehovah for His people's service; on them too, therefore, when they abused their position, His anger fell.[4] On the other hand, Isaiah found a chief mark of a people's utter decay in its able men's universal refusal to rule,[5] and the disappearance of the very city that was the Court's habitat became at last the Prophets' chosen token of the nation's doom. They believed in the usefulness of rank, though they continually cried out upon those who held it. For them privilege and responsibility were interchangeable terms.

Yet, while a man of rank held a responsibility *for* the people, he held it *to* Jehovah. This of course was an old doctrine.[6] In the books of the Monarchy it is usually

[1] Amos i. 10, 12, ii. 5, iii. 11, vi. 8; *cf.* iii. 15, v. 11.

[2] Jer. x. 21, xxiii. 1 ff., xxv. 34 ff., l. 44; *cf.* xxxi. 10; Mic. v. 5; Nah. iii. 18.

[3] *e.g.* Amos iii. 9 ff., iv. 1 f., vi. 1 ff.; Hos. v. 1, vii. 16; Is. i. 10, 21 ff.; Mic. iii. 1 ff., vii. 3; Jer. v. 5, xiii. 3; Zeph. iii. 3 f.; *cf.* pp. 131 ff.

[4] *e.g.* Hos. v. 1; Mic. iii. 11; Is. xxviii. 5-7; Zeph. iii. 3 f.; Jer. viii. 1, xxxii. 32; *cf.* Deut. i. 9 ff.

[5] Is. iii. 6 f.

[6] *e.g.* Josh. i. 1; Judg. iii. 10, vi. 14; *cf.* pp. 52, 136.

implicit in regard to the Court,[1] but explicit of *the* man of privilege, the king.

Here, again, the Hebrew theory of monarchy was both like and unlike its neighbours'. There are Psalms of the victory of Israel's God and king that might have been used almost *verbatim* as pæans of Edom or of Moab, of Assyria or Egypt.[2] Similarly, many tribes outside Israel believed that the tribal god appointed the king to lead the tribe's war and to decide the tribesmen's disputes. There is nothing peculiar in David's consulting Jehovah before undertaking a campaign[3] or in the claim, "And David perceived that the Lord had established him king over Israel, and that He had exalted his kingdom for His people Israel's sake."[4] Yet here is the seed of a great theory—the theory that the typical privilege, kingship, carried a responsibility to God for man—and it is a part of Israel's distinctive glory that in its soil the seed grew to a perfect tree.

For the Prophets set no meagre limit to the royal responsibility. They found a king's duty to be the realisation of Righteousness within his realm. If a king or dynasty failed to seek this, no doctrine of "Divine Right" stopped the Prophets' mouths. In the Monarchy's earlier days an Elijah thought it as much his duty to substitute Jehu's house for Omri's as to appoint a Prophet in his own "room," and an Ahijah robbed even David's line of ten of the Tribes,[5] while in later times, when the Prophets led no longer the whole nation but only its protesting remnant, they still asserted that only a righteous monarchy could live. This is the true burden, for instance, of the oracle called "the last words of David"—"There shall be one that ruleth over men, a righteous one, That ruleth in the fear of God. . . . For is not my house so with God? For He hath made with me an everlasting

[1] Jeremiah, however, in whose day the Court became, as never before, a power independent of the king, made of it, too, the explicit assertion—Jer. xxi. 11 f., xxii. 1 ff.

[2] *e.g.* Pss. ii., xxi., xxiv. 7-10.

[3] *e.g.* 1 Sam. xiii. 8 ff., xxiii. 9 ff., xxx. 7 ff.; 2 Sam. v. 19.

[4] 2 Sam. v. 12.

[5] 1 Kings xix. 15 ff., xi. 31.

covenant, Ordered in all things and sure."[1] Many other texts could be quoted, especially from Proverbs.[2] Chief of all, in the Prophets' visions of the perfect king to be, his crowning splendour is not wealth or might, the stretch of his dominions, or the multitude of his subjects, but his giving his people the gift of Righteousness. "Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with judgement and with righteousness from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of Hosts shall perform this."[3] In the great Psalm of the Perfect King all else in his mighty Empire is but the complement of a perfect Righteousness.[4] In the leading instance of kingship the Old Testament teaches that privilege is neither accident nor prize, but ministry.

The Purposes of Privilege

A word may be added on the relation of the kingship to another principle, that of Accommodation. It has already been seen that on this principle Jeremiah urged Judah to submit to a kingless exile.[5] Yet all the great descriptions of the perfect future at this period take it for granted that its society will be a monarchy—that ultimately Israel will retain its land under a perfect king. It seems, therefore, as if the Prophets thought of kingship, not as a means, but as an end, as a necessary element in the ideal society. This however is not really so. All the great visions of the future belong to the later Monarchy—to a time, that is, when both within Israel and without it the only system of government known had for centuries been kingship. None other was then practicable. So that the Prophets, since like all other men they were the children of their age, had no option but to dream of an ideal kingdom. Further, Israel's brightest past had been

[1] 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 5 (mg.).
[2] Prov. xvi. 12, xx. 8, 28, xxv. 5, xxix. 12.
[3] Is. ix. 7; *cf.* xi. 4, xxxii. 1; Jer. xxii. 3 f., xxiii. 5 f.
[4] Ps. lxxii.; *cf.* p. 135. [5] See p. 167.

under a king, David, and the glories of the future were imagined from the glories of the past. But, at the same time, it is impossible to read the seventy-second Psalm or Isaiah's description of the realm of Jesse's Shoot and suppose kingship to be the essence of their writers' hope. They do not describe the king personally at all, but his rule, and their real subject is not a righteous king but a righteous people. Kingship is but the visions' form—a form borrowed from the times—their passion is Righteousness. The error of later Messianic expectation lay just here—it longed for Israel's worldwide sway rather than for a worldwide Righteousness; it mistook the form for the essence. In the great forecasts themselves there is no such falsity of emphasis. They all make kingship the tool of Righteousness.

Finally, the doctrine that privilege is ministry conserved what was good in the old theory of the Democracy of Families. In form this theory perished for ever in Israel when the Monarchy came—for no society can maintain the equality of king and subject, "prince" and ryot—but, like the nomadic liberty that it itself had superseded, it was a rough and inadequate expression of a permanent truth. Fully expressed, this truth is that every man has the right of self-realisation—the right to be what God made him to be. The patriarchal liberty and the Democracy of Families, each in its own way and with its own limit, had required this, not for the individual, but for the smallest social unit of current thought—the family. Even the Monarchy did not fully define the right,[1] but the Prophets' doctrine of the responsibility of privilege was a further approximation to its complete assertion. They taught that all superiority is given, not to be exploited for its possessor's own benefit, but to be used in the behalf of all. Is a man a king? It is for the good of his people. Is he a judge? It is to secure for the common man the boon of justice. Is he a warrior? It is that he may give his meeker brethren peace. The Lord "exalted" David's line "for His people Israel's sake."[2]

[1] See pp. 195 ff.

[2] 2 Sam. v. 12.

Section F.—An Epitome from Ezekiel

A Representative Prophet

The Prophecy of Ezekiel has often been studied from the point of view of its influence on the future, and it is true that, especially upon the religious and social organisation of Israel, this was very great; but the immediate occasion of this Prophet's visions was not the return from Exile, but the fall of the Monarchy, and so his book is retrospective as well as prospective. Often at "the end of the days" of an epoch much that has been obscure grows manifest, the picture of the dying time attains a true perspective, and the interpretation of history's "writing on the wall" becomes plain. Ezekiel's doctrine and its limitations were alike representative. The exile by the Chebar summed as none other the thought of the age whose close he saw. This may be shown first for the distinctive facts of the Monarchy, and then for the social theory of its Prophets; finally, some subjects may be named on which Ezekiel, still in a way characteristic of the period, was wholly or largely silent.

The Facts of the Monarchy

The one fact that gave the five hundred years of the Kingdom of Israel its representative social problems was the intrusion of the alien world on Hebrew isolation. On the one hand, the Israelite and Canaanite stocks united in a composite race—"Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem: Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of the Canaanite; the Amorite was thy father, and thy mother was an Hittite";[1] on the other hand, Israel was drawn into the vortex of world politics and her fate became but a little part of a universal problem—"Thus saith the Lord God: This is Jerusalem: I have set her in the midst of the nations, and countries are round about her."[2]

[1] Ezek. xvi. 3; *cf.* xvi. 45 f., xliv. 6 ff.

[2] Ezek. v. 5. Ezekiel's every oracle views Israel as one amid many nations. *Cf.* chaps. xxv.–xxxii.; also xxiii. 7 ff., etc.

Two of Ezekiel's capital topics, therefore, were the corruption of Israel through the "abominations" of the heathen, and Jehovah's plan in the control of the multitude of the nations that begirt her. The outward token of this, the time's decisive fact, was the coming and predominance of the city. For Ezekiel the country, both in his treatment of the past and in his dreams of the future, was only the city's setting. He had a passion for detail—an overmastering passion, as the perusal of any of his famous passages shows—yet, while he lavished it on the description of the idolatries of Jerusalem, of the merchandise of Tyre, or of the arrangement of the Temple to be,[1] he had hardly a word of it for the devastated fields of the actual Canaan or the happy inheritances that were to surround the Holy Place of the coming theocracy.[2] Even more than his great precursors, Isaiah and Jeremiah, he was a townsman.

Again, the city exhibited at its zenith the new interdependence of society consequent on the evolution of the individual and the differentiation of callings. Ezekiel's picture of Tyre in his twenty-seventh chapter is perhaps the most vivid presentation in literature of this interdependence. What was true of Tyre was true in a less degree of Jerusalem. Again, all the particular persons named by this Prophet are about the work of a distinct calling—the witch, the plasterer, the scribe, the shepherd, the surgeon, the "ancient," the minstrel,[3]—and a great vindication of individualism is one of the glories of his prophecy—"I will judge you, O house of Israel, *every one* according to his ways, saith the Lord God."[4] Ezekiel's book is a mirror of the new facts of the Monarchy.

The Creed of the Prophets

To meet them the Prophets fashioned a social theory whose central teaching may be gathered in three statements—Jehovah exercises an active and universal provid-

[1] Ezek. viii., xxvii., xl.–xlviii.
[2] Ezek. xlvii. 13–xlviii. 35.
[3] Ezek. xiii. 17 ff., xiii. 10 ff., ix. 2 ff., xxxiv., xxx. 21, vii. 26, xxxiii. 32
[4] Ezek. xviii.; *cf.* iii. 18 ff., 27, ix. 4 ff., xiv. 7, 12 ff., xxxiii. 1-20.

ence among men; the master-principle of His will and therefore the proper aim of man is the practice of "Righteousness"—that is, of justice, faithfulness, mercy, and peace; if a society practise this, Jehovah will give it the boon of prosperity. Of the two last statements the contradictory also held—that a society practising iniquity forfeits thereby the support and wins the irresistible enmity of Jehovah; and that so it inevitably attains misery instead of prosperity. It seems impossible that Ezekiel should state these great Prophetic commonplaces more clearly than his predecessors, yet this he achieved.

For instance, the final illustration of the omnipotence of Jehovah is this Prophet's vision of the resurrection of the "dry bones" of a dead nation.[1] Here is the climax of the doctrine saved for civilisation by Israel from the lost thought of "primitive" man—that God is ever active among men, at once the Maker, the Destroyer, the Sustainer of societies. Again, no earlier Prophet quite so readily as Ezekiel took for granted Isaiah's great discovery of Jehovah's universal sway. With him it was altogether an axiom, never an assertion. His problem was not whether Jehovah could master Babylon, Egypt, or Tyre, but what he would do with them.[2] Again, while Isaiah's faith in Jehovah's high sovereignty based on the inviolability of Zion, Ezekiel's like Jeremiah's had no such stay. Had it not been assumed by "the elect" beside the Chebar and the Tigris as a thing of course that Jehovah was the master of Nebuchadnezzar, the Exile had made of Israel the extinct people of an extinct god. Ezekiel, too, was the first Prophet whose thought, mustering the "hordes" of the whole earth against Jehovah, saw Him smite them;[3] and his characteristic phrase, his "conclusion of the matter," whether he deal with individual,

[1] Ezek. xxxvii. 1-14.

[2] Particular illustrations are the assumptions in Ezek. xvii. 19, that Jehovah would exact from Israel a promise made to Babylon, and in Ezek. xxix. 17 ff., that Jehovah owed Nebuchadnezzar "wages" for his siege of Tyre. *Cf.* xxviii. 11 ff., xxix. 13, xxx. 9, xxxii. 17 ff.

[3] Ezek. xxxviii. and xxxix.

with city, with nation, or with world, is still "And they shall know that I am the Lord." This Prophet's last words are just the Amen of all the prophecies of the Monarchy—"And the name of the city from that day shall be, the LORD is there."[1]

So, again, a passage in Ezekiel sums most adequately the content of the Prophetic notion of Righteousness, "If a man be righteous, and do judgement and righteousness, and hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lifted up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, neither hath defiled his neighbour's wife, neither hath come near to a woman in her separation; and hath not wronged any, but hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment; he that hath not given upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, that hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity, hath executed true judgement between man and man, hath walked in My statutes, and hath kept My judgements, to deal truly; he is righteous, he shall surely live, saith the Lord God."[2] There is here, indeed, the intermixture of the ceremonial and moral that Israel's Prophets all but outgrew but that was to see so remarkable a revival after the Exile; but there are also here the Hebrew identification of religion and morals, the surpassing of mere law, the emphasis on "humanitarianism," the hatred of "violence" and "usury," the insistence on the primary place of "judgement" in Righteousness, the assertion of the obligation of truth, and the recognition of the responsibility of the rich. This last involves the principle of Accommodation—that an imperfect institution is to be accepted if it help towards perfection—while the whole passage is a part of the charter of the individual. Only the concept of peace among all the great notions of the period is wanting, and that rightly so, for the verses describe an individual, and peace at this time was rather a quality of nations than of persons. Yet peace was not lacking in Ezekiel's thought, for he sums the end of Israel's conflicts in the phrase,

[1] Ezek. xlviii. 35. [2] Ezek. xviii. 5-9.

"They shall dwell securely in their land,"[1] and the most suggestive of his few pastoral images pictures Israel as a flock that "shall dwell securely in the wilderness and sleep in the woods."[2] With this last Prophet of the Kingdom the primary Prophetic concept of Righteousness reached an explicitness final for its epoch.[3]

So, again, though it seems hardly possible, Ezekiel has a more striking illustration than all his predecessors of the belief that to practise Jehovah's will of Righteousness is the sure way to prosperity. To secure this he declared that God would contradict Nature! There is an instance in his final picture of a united people settled round its sanctuary.[4] For no modern critic knows better than Ezekiel himself that the symmetry which he portrayed was impossible in Palestine, but he borrowed from the Mesopotamian plain a pictorial way of saying that the renewed ascendency of Jehovah amid His people would restore the equal prosperity of every Israelite Tribe and family. Spite even nature, a universal well-being would follow holiness. But Ezekiel employed this kind of symbol also in a more brilliant way. Only two chapters of his Book have quite captured the Christian mind.[5] One of these describes the conquest of the desert by the waters that "issued out of the sanctuary."[6] That a "trickle" of water from the Rock Zion should multiply in Kidron's sand, mount in the Valley of Fire, fructify Jeshimon, and sweeten the Sea of Salt—this would be to contradict Nature indeed! Therefore just this was Ezekiel's parable of the inevitable prosperity of Righteousness.

Subsidiary Doctrines

Once more, apart from the general doctrine of Righteousness, the Hebrew Monarchy saw the development of the principle of Accommodation and the doctrine of

[1] Ezek. xxxviii. 8.
[2] Ezek. xxxix. 26, xxxiv. 35 ff.; *cf.* xxviii. 25 ff., xxxviii. 8.
[3] See the whole of Ezek. xviii. 5-32, and add, for instance, iii. 19 ff., xiii. 22, xiv. 14, xxxiii. 10 ff., 25 ff.
[4] Ezek. xlviii.
[5] Chaps. xxxvii. and xlvii.
[6] Ezek. xlvii.; *cf.* xxxiv. 23 ff., xxxvi. 8 ff.

responsibility. Ezekiel, like his predecessors, left no doubt that the abuses and corruptions of the times found their "head and forefront" in the city's wealth and the Court's rank,[1] yet, again like the other Prophets, he did not demand their abolition, but, while condemning their abuse as roundly as any before him, he gave them a place in his scheme of Providence. The legitimacy of the luxury, leisure, and wealth of rank, has its most explicit admission in this Prophet's minute description of Israel as a prince's bride.[2] Her jewelled beauty, her broidered and silken raiment, her dainty food—all are Jehovah's gifts. Not their possession, but their prostitution, is what Ezekiel gibbets to the last nauseous detail. So, again, in the ideal future there were to be "Prince" and city,[3] yet not as ends but means. They were both to be auxiliaries of worship, two of the tools of Righteousness. That postulate of Eastern thought, the "oppression" of a people by its king, was to disappear; he was to be content with the income of his appointed "inheritance," and taxation, unless for sacrifice, was as in the ancient days to cease.[4] Further, the "Prince" had a duty to his people springing from that to his God. Ezekiel has the crowning instance of the image of the "shepherd" under which several earlier Prophets had displayed the responsibility of rulers for people.[5] There is no more effective assertion of the responsibility of privilege in the whole Old Testament than his, nor one so clear—"Thus saith the Lord God: Woe unto the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the sheep? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill the fatlings; but ye feed not the sheep. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away,

[1] *e.g.* Ezek. xxii. 1-16, xlv. 8 ff. [2] Ezek. xvi.

[3] Ezek. xlviii. 21 f., 15 ff., 30 ff. That there was to be a Court would follow, of course, in current thought from the admission of a "Prince."

[4] Ezek. xlv. 7 f., 16, xlvi. 18; *cf.* xxii. 27.

[5] Ezek. xxxiv.; *cf.* p. 171, footnote 2. This image was favourite with Jeremiah, and the writer of Zechariah ix.–xi., as well as Ezekiel.

neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with rigour have ye ruled over them." Nor does the prophecy stay at those whose pre-eminence was stated and official; it denounces also any who use even a natural advantage in a selfish way—"Thus saith the Lord God . . . Behold, I, even I, will judge between the fat cattle and the lean cattle. Because ye thrust with the shoulder, and push all the diseased with your horns, till ye have scattered them abroad; therefore will I save My flock, and they shall be no more a prey; and I will judge between cattle and cattle." In other words, every selfish use of any kind of strength is sin. Here is condemnation of "competition" indeed.

It would be easy to show that Ezekiel epitomises Prophetic teaching in other details. For instance, he has the same idea of prosperity as the earlier Prophets—"Ye shall divide the land for inheritance according to the twelve tribes of Israel,"[1] and to avoid "respect of persons" each Tribe's inheritance was to be divided "by lot."[2] Again, the future Israel was to include all the Tribes;[3] the "ger" was to share with the Hebrew born;[4] mercy was still subordinated to Righteousness,[5] yet the poor had a right to mercy, founded in the will of God.[6] The more closely this Prophecy is examined, the more completely is it found to sum the regular teaching of the Prophets of the period.

The Shortcomings of Ezekiel's Theory

But Ezekiel represents the Monarchy's limitation as well as its achievement. This is true, not only of social doctrines that none had yet articulated, but of the "open secrets" of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Each of these had a great doctrine that his contemporaries failed to share—and Ezekiel, too, missed them both. Isaiah had foretold a world of nations willingly at peace;[7] Ezekiel ignored the

[1] Ezek. xlvii. 13; *cf.* xlviii. 1 ff., 23 ff.
[2] xlvii. 22.
[3] xxxvii. 15 ff., xlvii. 13.
[4] xlvii. 22.
[5] ix. 5 f., xxxv.
[6] *e.g.* xxii. 29, xviii. 7 ff.
[7] See pp. 150 ff.

prophecy. For him the method of peace was force,[1] and in his vision of the perfect future the world outside Israel has no place at all, the only promise about it being that it shall not interrupt Israel's bliss.[2] His was a lame universalism.

Again, even for the chosen people Ezekiel postulated no more than a formal and external union. For the common spirit required in Isaiah's forecasts[3] he substituted a common temple, for the union of hearts the equal distribution of land. This is where he contrasted also with Jeremiah. The latter had seen more clearly even than Isaiah that the final cure for all actual and possible social evils was to change men's souls, and his greatest prophecy had asserted that this miracle was to be Jehovah's way to a perfect future—"This is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel . . . saith the Lord; I will put My law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God and they shall be My people."[4] Ezekiel did not fail to do lip-service to the idea,[5] as to others whose greater exponent was Jeremiah, but for him it was not the ultimate secret of reform. He left on one side his mighty predecessors' deepest discoveries, and replaced them by his own characteristic notion—the perfection of the external organisation of society. Herein Ezekiel, rather than Isaiah or Jeremiah, was the father of Israel's next age. It was to attempt the experiment, and discover at once the use and limitations, of an external reform and a formal theocracy.[6] Meanwhile the Monarchy's five hundred years had achieved their end—the Prophets had hammered out the great social concept of Righteousness, not as an abstract theory, but, spite all the vicissitudes of history and the complexity of social questions, as a practicable principle. "The things that are unseen are eternal." The one invaluable issue of the history of the Hebrew Monarchy was the survival of Righteousness.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 147 ff.
[2] Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 25, 28, xxxviii. and xxxix.
[3] *eg.* Is. ii. 2 ff., xi. 1 ff.
[4] Jer. xxxi. 33.
[5] Ezek. xi. 19, xviii. 31, xxxvi. 26 f.
[6] See pp. 220 ff.

CHAPTER IV

ISRAEL AFTER THE KINGS: THE WORTH OF A COMMON MAN

The Survival of Theocracy.—The Likeness of God.—The Love of my Neighbour.—The Ministry of Undeserved Disadvantage.—A Halting Conclusion.

Section A.—The Survival of Theocracy

A Contrast with the Monarchy

The period of Israelite history succeeding the Monarchy began with the preaching of Deutero-Isaiah and closed with the writing of Daniel. It included, that is to say, the four centuries from about the middle of the sixth to about the middle of the second century before Christ. This period contrasts with the Monarchy in many ways. The most obvious difference is that the Hebrew State was no longer independent, but merely one province of a great empire—first of the Persian, then of the Greco-Syrian. This dependence the Jews accepted on one condition—they must be allowed to follow their own religion. Cyrus was a statesman when he encouraged the rebuilding of the Temple, Antiochus a fool when he tore it down. When Israel's faith was attacked, the pigmy fought the giant, but at other times the Jews remained a quiescent part of a heathen empire. Yet political dependence was not really consonant with their ideal social theory, for this included freedom.[1] The Monarchy had attempted that theory's realisation, however unsuccessfully—now the people waited in an admittedly imperfect condition until their servitude should have expiated their sins and their God should restore the Kingdom to Israel.[2]

[1] See pp. 5 ff., 29 f., 35 f.

[2] *Cf.* Ezra ix. 18 f.; Neh. ix. 36.

Another point of contrast lay in the smallness of the post-exilic people. They were chiefly—though not entirely[1]—of three tribes, Judah, Benjamin, and Levi. At least at first they occupied only the country around their one city Jerusalem. Further, external forces held them together, as never since their early tribes had burst into Palestine. The Book of Nehemiah shows how their jealous neighbours hemmed them in. Again, those who returned from Exile did so under an avowedly religious impulse. It may be doubted whether to the less devout Jew in Babylon or Mesopotamia the boon of returning to his own land seemed worth the adventure. As always since, he had discovered a way to prosper among aliens, and the comparatively poor land of Palestine would not by itself allure him to a second Exodus. Consequently those who returned were *par excellence* the devout in Israel. Indeed, the one thing that now made the Jews a distinct people among the other subjects of Persia, was their religion. By this they maintained throughout the four centuries of this epoch what every other race in their world lost—a proper nationality. The Jewish State was at once smaller and more truly a unit than it had been under the Kings.

The literature of the period, again, contrasts with that of its predecessor. In the Books of Samuel and Kings the Monarchy has a continuous history, set forth reign by reign, but of the history of the post-exilic period there are in the Bible only fragments. Moreover, these are confined to its earlier part—the days of Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Later Jewish history has to be constructed from the hints of Canonical books which are not histories, and from secular records. Again, while the Monarchic literature included several kinds of books, its distinctive and original literary form was the Prophecy of individual Prophets. These dared each to have a voice of his own because he was conscious that he had a message from God. In the subsequent age the prophetic line slowly perished—for Isaiah there was at last only Haggai and for Jeremiah

[1] *Cf.* p. 111, footnote 5, and p. 209, footnote 2.

Malachi. Another line of writers, the Priestly or official, survived longer, but these either busied themselves with the preservation of the records of the past—as in the Books of Chronicles—or their scope shrank from the destiny of the nation to the regulation of worship—as a comparison of the breadth of Deuteronomy with the ritual obsession of the Priestly Code shows.[1] The new problems and distinctive thought of the post-Monarchic time are to be found, not in their books, but in others of a widely different kind—in Job and Esther, in Ecclesiastes and Daniel, and some of the later Psalms. These differ greatly, but in two significant ways they are alike. Like the typical Monarchic Prophecies, they were all the product of individual thought; and they all presuppose that there was something puzzling in the ways of God. The second was the new and more important quality. While the Prophet was so sure of God's will that he never hesitated, the distinctive mark of the characteristic post-exilic writings is that they either express or try to explain Israel's bewilderment with the ways of the Lord. This is one of the keys to the understanding of the period.

The Disillusion of the Return

This bewilderment arose from the disappointment of hope. The returning exiles were peculiarly the heirs of promise. All the Prophets of the Monarchy had borne witness that, as disaster was the inevitable fruit of disobedience, so prosperity would be the sure fruit of Righteousness. So, at the beginning of the Exile Ezekiel portrayed the golden future of an obedient Israel,[2] and at its close the clarion call of the nameless "Voice" of Deutero-Isaiah summoned every true Hebrew to put his God to the test. A number of the Israelites responded and took again the way of the Desert. Here was a people

[1] There is a partial exception in the Code of Holiness (Lev. xvii.–xxvi.), which dates from the time intermediate to Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, for in it "holiness" had a social as well as a ritual content.

[2] See pp. 176 f., 179.

willing to practise the preaching of the old Prophets, vowed to the experiment of Righteousness. Further, *as a people* they were not unfaithful, at any rate in the earlier half of the epoch, to their vow. Consequently, according to the promises of the Prophets, they ought to have secured the prosperous possession of their own land, and to have risen to be the head at least of the little Aramæan world.[1] No doubt at first the restoration of Canaan satisfied their chief hope, and they perhaps argued from it that the other expected benefits would follow—actually, however, what ensued was the discovery that Canaan itself was only half theirs, that they were to be continually harassed even in its possession, that their servitude to the alien was to be perpetual, and that to be "the head and not the tail"[2] could only be a distant dream.[3]

The Recalcitrant Individual

Nor were their problems all external. The individual, prominent in society by the close of the Monarchy,[4] attained on the Return even an exaggerated importance. The post-exilic Jews were rather, as has often been said, a Church than a State, and they had this mark of a new Church that each man joined them of his own choice. Choice and not compulsion decided who should return to Palestine. Its new society, therefore, was distinctively a group of individuals. This led to a doctrine and a problem. The doctrine was that of the worth of man as such,[5] the problem that of the free individual. It is the latter that calls for note here. While at the first the common motive of the love of their God and their land held the returning Jews together—while, indeed, unity was a necessity both as they threaded the Desert and whenever later their envious neighbours made a determined effort against them—at other times the division that is

[1] *Cf.* pp. 147 ff. [2] Deut. xxviii. 13.
[3] Dan. ix. 2, 24-27 (the interpretation of Jeremiah's "seventy years" to mean a much longer period) illustrates this.
[4] See pp. 111 ff. [5] See pp. 195 ff.

the peril of individualism would inevitably appear. Some would soon sink below the single motive of restoring to Jehovah His glory and begin to clutch at the lands to be gained in Palestine, while even the nobler minded would find it hard always to postpone the settlement of their families and the enjoyment of their new possessions to such common duties as the building of a new temple. The message of the Prophet Haggai illustrates this—"Is it a time for you yourselves to dwell in cieled houses, while this house lieth waste?"[1] The new temple was not, as the first, to be built by forced labour at a king's behest, but in the nobler way of the willing work of the free, yet a nobler way is also usually a harder. If a man declined the task of the temple, there was no way to coerce him,[2] for Zerubbabel could hardly appeal to Cyrus to *force* the Jews to build a temple for whose love they had returned to Jerusalem! The expostulation of the Prophets was the new society's one resource.

Nor was this the only way in which the individual claimed to do as he liked. On Ezra's arrival sixty years later, he found that the Jews had forsaken the exclusiveness essential to the survival of Israel at this stage, and had taken to themselves foreign wives.[3] It is true that his influence sufficed to secure the abolition of the practice, but the fact that he rather advised than commanded this shows how each man was now a law unto himself. Nor must his success and Nehemiah's in similar effort later be taken as normal. As only the story of their times has survived, it is easy to assume that their books represent their period, but in fact they sometimes illustrate the exceptional and not the typical. Nehemiah needed to exert all his prestige to secure his reforms, and it is to be noted that they *were* reforms, and that he secured them, not by force, but by the combination of precept with example.[4] As governor he could and did exact the royal revenue,[5] but in religion and ethics the day for a ruler's compulsion was over in Israel. In that realm personal

[1] Hag. i. 4. [2] *Cf.* Neh. iii. 5. [3] Ezra ix.
[4] *e.g.* Neh. v. 10. [5] Neh. ix. 37.

freedom was henceforth to be axiomatic, and the problem of the individual who refused to conform to his society's rules became acute.

While as a whole Judaism was now faithful to the practice of Righteousness, there were many Jews even in the century following the Return who forsook it, and later, when the restraint of such leaders as Ezra and Nehemiah was wanting, their number doubtless grew.

Again, for the individual as for the society Righteousness did not always lead to prosperity. Usually the governor would not be a Jew as Nehemiah, but some Persian favourite of the distant king, and, so long as he kept his province in submissive peace and remitted to Shushan the appointed revenue, he would be at liberty to enjoy on a small scale all the opportunities of despotism. There is no reason to suppose that the governors of Judæa deviated from the Oriental type. They would derive a revenue of their own from taxation and extortion; justice would be sold; the sycophant and the unscrupulous would enjoy the favour and share the spoils of the petty lord; the supple Jew, bending to the alien yoke, would flourish, while the sturdy follower of Jehovah who was not at pains to disguise that it galled, would be marked for oppression. It was obvious that at any rate so long as the present era lasted Righteousness would not always "pay." The Jew had launched on the experiment of the theory of the Prophets and it seemed clearly, alike for the nation and the individual, to have failed. The dream of Deutero-Isaiah issued in the disillusion of Koheleth.

A Persistent Belief in Providence

Yet Israel still held that its God ruled the universe, that He had a peculiar love for His own people, and that sometime and somehow He would vindicate Righteousness. In a period when religion became for all other races—whether small like Edom, or great like Egypt, Persia, or Greece—a mere adjunct of statecraft, the Jews still main-

tained its pre-eminence in human life. By this they survived in turn the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman. They persisted in the creed of Providence.

It is not necessary to illustrate this for two of the three groups into which, as just noted,[1] the writings of the time naturally fall—the Prophetic and the "official." They, of course, build altogether on the axiom that Jehovah is master of all things.[2] The significant fact is that the "problem" books, too, in spite of their bewilderment, hold fast the doctrine of Providence.

The Man who had no Chance

Here no book is more instructive than Ecclesiastes. For its true understanding the study of its environment is peculiarly useful. The writer was evidently a man of ambition, ability, and probity. What outlet for such a combination of qualities did the little Jewish State offer? None at all! The only beggarly hint of a "career" for eager and able youth was the small pre-eminence of the official at the Governor's pettifogging Court![3] In the days of the Monarchy the path of adventure and perhaps of success had always lain open. Then who could tell whether he might not become the vizier or the generalissimo of the whole Syrian world? Then life was a risk worth taking! But now? No doubt there was scope enough for adventurers in the Persian empire, but not for those who would worship the Lord and keep His law. The stories of Mordecai and of Daniel were so unusual as to be almost miraculous. Apart from the Jews' refusal of idolatry, their code of conduct was quite unsuited to secure success amid the

[1] See pp. 184 f.

[2] *e.g.* Is. xl. 12 ff., xli. 8 ff., xliii. 19 f., xlv. 12, xlviii. 13; Jer. x. 12 ff.; Hag. ii. 6 ff.; Joel i. and ii.; Zech. xii. 1 ff.; Mal. ii. 10; Ezra i. 2; Neh. ix. 6 ff.; Job ix. 5-9, xxxvi. 3, xxxviii.; Pss. viii., xix. 1-6, xxiv., xxix., xxxiii. 6 ff., lxv., lxxxix 11, xciii., civ., cxlviii., cxix. 91; Num. xv. 18-21; Jonah *passim*. *Cf.* Gen. i.

[3] Contrast the unwillingness of the majority of the people in this period to dwell in Jerusalem, implied in Neh. xi. 2, with the opposite tendency under the Monarchy (*cf.* pp. 106 ff.). Both earlier and later parts of Proverbs refer to the "super-serviceable" slave whose address raised him to power in Eastern Courts (Prov. xix. 10, xxx. 22).

astute intrigue and shameless deceit of an Eastern Court, whether it were great, as at Shushan, or small, as at Jerusalem. There were only two ways of life for a Jew who would be faithful—to give himself to commerce, or to satisfy himself with the cultivation of his little plot of land in a corner of Judæa. A large section of the Hebrew race began at this time to pursue the first alternative, and they have perfected the one art open to their Dispersion, that of "making money," but to a man of lofty purpose this calling does not by itself appeal. For him money is a means to some other end, never itself an end. None of the world's great men has been merely a rich man.

The writer of Ecclesiastes, then, was one whose world denied him an opportunity adequate to his worth. The service of mankind would have been his chosen sphere in happier times, but now that, too, was forbidden him! It was impossible even to "comfort" the oppressed.[1] Perhaps he himself was the "poor wise man" who at a pinch saved his "city"—only to be ignored.[2] His bitterness is the bitterness of the foiled hero. It was born of his helplessness. What a lot for one whose fathers had taught him that, if only the Hebrew would serve Jehovah, he should rule the world! The Hebrews now were serving God—and were condemned, just in proportion as they did so, to the galled inertia of strength. The wonder is that Koheleth did not first preach and then practise suicide. But what he actually preached was that a man must enjoy the honest little life of his few acres[3] and for the rest trust in God.[4] He was bewildered indeed—"There is a righteous man that perisheth in his righteousness and there is a wicked man that prolongeth his life in evil-doing"[5]—but he never doubted that God was over all and that He was righteous. Questioning all else, he never questioned this—"Though a sinner do evil an hundred times and prolong his days, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before Him: but it shall not be well with the wicked,

[1] Eccles. iv. 1 f.; *cf.* v. 8.
[2] Eccles. ix. 13 ff.
[3] *Cf.* viii. 15.
[4] *Cf.* Ps. xxxvii. 3.
[5] Eccles. vii. 15.

neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow; because he feareth not before God."[1] The times made of this throbbing writer a great vacillator, but the great vacillator had a foundation—he never challenged the ultimate Providence of the Most High.

The Discovery in Job

Another of the representative books of the period, however, does in set terms challenge the Providence of God. The Book of Job witnesses that some Israelites found escape from the dilemma of their history by the denial or at least the questioning of Jehovah's just rule. And, while no doubt the puzzle that finds expression in Job arose often in the life of individuals, the book is best understood if it is taken as the statement and solution of the problem of the plight of the people of Jehovah. Israel was the forsaken favourite of God, who had exchanged a palace for a dunghill—Israel the great instance of undeserved suffering. Nor probably did the writer share the modern opinion that he left the question much where it was before, for this book's greatness, too, only appears when it is put in its historical environment. The iteration of Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar palls on a reader of to-day, but it is the writer's successful way of saying that the universal opinion of the past was that adversity was always the direct punishment of sin. This had been the burden of a hundred oracles, and the Exile had burnt the lesson into the heart of Israel. Now, however, experience every day gave it the lie—what was the explanation? The writer's discovery was the mystery of God. Hitherto it had been a postulate in Israel that its prophets and priests understood its God; to the thinkers of the Monarchy the ways of the Lord seemed quite plain; they thought that there was nothing beyond their ken in His doings.[2]

[1] Ecc. viii. 12 f.

[2] G. A. Smith has pointed out that the first instance of a Hebrew writer's finding Jehovah's ways a problem is Habakkuk ("Twelve Prophets," ii. p. 130 f.), a Prophet of the last days of the Monarchy. Habakkuk, however, does not *maintain* this attitude.

It is obvious to-day that God's ways are past finding out, but it was none the less a discovery in the day of the writer of Job. And by this discovery he saved his own and his people's thought from mere despair. Thrust upon the admission that Jehovah was unjust, this thinker found a way of escape in the doctrine that He was only inscrutable. The writer's famous descriptions of nature and her wonders dwell principally, not on the power, but on the wisdom of God. For instance, the leading words of the finest chapters of them all, the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth, are "Who is this that darkeneth counsel?" "Declare if thou hast understanding," "Hast thou comprehended?" "Doubtless thou knowest," "Knowest thou?" Man does not know—this was the new truth. At least it was not certain that the Lord was unrighteous. From this point of view, too, the interposition of Elihu can be justified, for it carried thought a step further. Job had insisted that Jehovah was mysterious, but this was only his last word but one; his last word was that he himself was righteous. Elihu would not let that finish the matter;[1] he blent the new truth with the old; not the Righteousness of Job, but the Righteousness within the mystery of the Lord, is for him the last word. And the writer's much abused "happy ending" asserts in the only way then possible that in the end of the days it would be found that both the Lord and Job were righteous. "Jehovah will not let His people suffer always"—this is the living faith of this book of the relief of doubt. "We are bewildered because we are ignorant; Jehovah is righteous though He is mysterious; some day He will make at once His Righteousness and ours to appear if only Job-like we persist in our Righteousness"—these are the findings of this pioneer of thought.

The Providence of Midnight

There is no need to show that a belief in Providence underlies the Book of Esther. It is, indeed, not usually

[1] Job xxxii. 2 f.

reckoned with the "problem" books. Yet it gives a pictorial answer to one of the questions of the epoch. What of the Jews still in exile? Were they abandoned by Jehovah? The writer of Esther taught his people that the Lord ruled in the lands of exile, and that Israel's survival there was proof positive of Providence. No wonder that his wandering race, as it awaits the slow limit of its God's wrath, has always held this Book peculiarly dear! It believes that merely to survive is the Providence of God!

With the "problem" books of the epoch there go its "problem" Psalms.[1] Their writers assume that the violent, the proud, the deceitful, normally victimised the poor, the humble, the righteous. If a modern reader try to "think himself into" such a situation, he will easily understand the animus of some of these Psalms against the successful wicked. To expect the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount in them is mere anachronism. Their religious value lies elsewhere. They are full, indeed, of disappointment, bewilderment and dismay; their writers could not understand the new strange doings of the God who had wrought so many and great deliverances for their fathers; they were conscious that they were righteous and they knew that therefore they ought not to be suffering; yet their trust in Providence did not falter. Through the midnight of three centuries they still believed in the sun.

"*O Death, where is thy Victory?*"

The same faith is presented by another book in yet another way. It is not now necessary to argue that the Book of Daniel is an Apocalypse of the Maccabean age. It marks a climax in treating all human history as the plan of God. Long since Israel had begun to think that Jehovah could and did interfere with other races and that He was stronger than their gods, and the Prophets

[1] *e.g.* Pss. xxxi., xxxv., xxxvii., xl, xlii. and xliii., xlix, lvii., lxiv., lxxv., lxxvii., xciv., cix., cxl., cxliii.

had gradually extended the scope of this teaching, but now, as complementary to the theological belief that Jehovah is Creator of the world—also in its complete statement a discovery of this period—the creed arose that He is at work in the alien world, not only now and then, but always, that the government of the universe of the nations is His constant care, that history is one and is His plan. In the Book of Daniel Jehovah is the master of mankind.

Yet the universalism of Daniel does not exclude patriotism. In its writer's day the problem of Israel's suffering reached its acutest stage. In the time of the Maccabees the Jews experienced for the first time a long, systematic, and legal persecution for their religion's sake. Koheleth, had he lived in this era, had not been at a loss for a worthy calling. Many Jews took the last of devotion's paths and perished for God. What was now to be said of the theory of Providence? To claim that the nation would one day recover and prevail if only it were faithful, did not meet the whole problem, for now individualism demanded an account of every human life. Surely the martyrs were the victims of a blind or an unrighteous fate, not the beloved of a righteous God! Jewish faith faced the dilemma triumphant still. For the first time confidently, it avowed the resurrection. "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake."[1] Unable to vindicate itself in any other way, the Hebrews' faith in Providence demanded the abrogation of death! If one life seemed to foil their creed, they summoned a second to its aid! "Providence," said they, "does master life, for it masters death!" In the hour of an earlier dream's utter disillusion they dreamed a greater dream. Theocracy survived. Never since has it been impossible to believe in God.

[1] Dan. xii. 2.

Section B.—The Likeness of God

Righteousness Common to God and Man

The leading social idea inherited by the post-Monarchic period from the preceding epoch was that of Righteousness,[1] with its four great components, justice, faithfulness, mercy, peace. In the post-Monarchic age, while the four qualities just named still held their pre-eminent place, as numerous passages show,[2] the concept enriched in two or three ways, as will appear below.[3] The literature of the time, however, is remarkable too for the way in which it everywhere uses "Righteousness" as the proper definition of two things—the character of God and of a true man. Here it made explicit one of the assumptions of the past.

In the last chapter Righteousness was presented as the will rather than as the character of Jehovah.[4] The distinction, however, is really too nice for Hebrew psychology. It was always true for the Israelite that God wills what He is—Righteousness. The master thinker of the post-Monarchic age, Deutero-Isaiah, made this, if possible, clearer than ever.[5] Whole Psalms, again, might be quoted to illustrate it.[6] The ideas of God and Righteousness were still inseparable.

[1] See pp. 125 ff.

[2] *e.g.* for judgement and justice, Is. xlii. 1, 3 f., liii. 8, lvi. 1; Prov. xxxi. 5-9; 2 Chron. xix. 5-11; Eccles. iii. 16, iv. 1, v. 8, vii. 7. For faithfulness and truth, Is. xli. 26, xlii. 3, xlviii. 1; Lev. xxvii. 1-25; Mal. ii. 10 f.; Ps. cxx. 2-4; Eccles. v. 4 f. For mercy, Is. xlii. 6 f., lviii. 6 ff.; Zech. vii. 9 f.; Prov. xxxi. 20, 26; Job xix. 21 f., xxxi. 13 ff.; Ob. vv. 12-14; Ps. cix. 6, cxlvi. 7 ff.; the phrase in Ps. and Chron., "His Mercy endureth for ever"; the burden of Jonah (that God's mercy is a type for man's—*cf.* p. 212); at the same time mercy was still a part only of Righteousness and secondary to it (*e.g.* Is. xlix. 26, l. 10 f., li. 8, etc.; Jer. l. 41 f., li. 57; Gen. vi. 17; Lev. xxvi. 14 ff.; Num. xiv. 26 ff., xvi. 41-50; Jonah i. 2, 12, 15; Zech. xiii. 3, xiv. 2 f.; Mal. ii. 2, 12, iv. 1, 6; Ps. v., lxviii., cxxxix. 19-22, etc.; 2 Chron. xv. 13, xxi. 13 f.; Dan. ix. 24; so only the righteous "remnant" was to survive (Is. lxv. 8 ff., xxiv. 18 ff., xxvii. 7 ff.; Jer. l. 20; Ps. xxii. 30; Zech. xiii. 8 f.; Hag. i. 12, etc.). For peace Is. lii. 7, lxv. 25; Ps. xxxvii. 11, 37, cxix. 165, cxx. 5-7, etc.; Zech. iii. 10, iv. 6, vi. 13, ix. 9 ff.; 1 Chron. xxii. 8-10; 2 Chron. xv. 3-7. Israel's plight in and after the Captivity would teach her to love peace, for she could gain nothing now by war.

[3] See pp. 206 ff., 213 ff., 222 f.

[4] See p. 128.

[5] *e.g.* Is. xli. 10, xlvi. 13, li. 5 f., lxiii. 1.

[6] *e.g.* Pss. xcvii. xcviii.

Yet Righteousness defined too the character of the ideal man. Here, again, several whole Psalms could be quoted;[1] Job's last passionate outburst before the challenge of the Lord breaks in upon him is a description of himself as a completely righteous man;[2] Daniel's final word in his account of the consummation of human history is "To bring in everlasting Righteousness";[3] the name of the victorious sufferer who looms through Deutero-Isaiah's deepest vision is "My righteous Servant."[4]

But, while it is significant that the same term should be used even in separate passages to describe the character both of God and man, it is even more remarkable that in the same breath the word should be used of both. "Hearken unto me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord. . . . My righteousness is near, My salvation is gone forth. . . . Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, the people in whose heart is My law . . . but My righteousness shall be for ever."[5] How the term alternates here between man and God! Side by side with this may be put such passages from the Psalms as these—"For the Lord is righteous; He loveth righteousness: The upright shall behold His face," "As for me, I shall behold Thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied when I awake with Thy likeness."[6] The same connexion lies behind Daniel's plea for the restoration of Jerusalem,[7] Zechariah's enumeration of the things that "I hate, saith the Lord,"[8] and Malachi's description of the ideal priest.[9] It is in the light of such passages that the tremendous assertions are to be considered—"Thou hast made [man] but little lower than God," "God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him."[10] For man's likeness to God was not at all an

[1] *e.g.* Pss. v., xv., xxvi., li. cxii.
[2] Job xxxi.
[3] Dan. ix. 24.
[4] Is. liii. 11; *cf.* Is. l. 1, liv. 13 f., lix. 3-21, lx. 17 f., 21, xxvi. 1-10; Ps. l. 16 ff.; Zech. vii. 9 f.; Job xxvii. 4-6, xxix. 12-16; Mal. iii. 3-6.
[5] Is. li. 1-8; *cf.* xlii. 21, 24, xlv. 8, 19-25, liv. 17, lvi. 1.
[6] Ps. xi. 7, xvii. 15.
[7] Dan. ix. 7-19.
[8] Zech. viii. 16 f.
[9] Mal. ii. 5-7.
[10] Ps. viii. 5; Gen. i. 27. *Cf.* the inversion of this doctrine in Ps. l. 21—"Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself."

empty or unpractical idea to the Hebrew. How should it be when his God was so real and practical? While in the two great passages themselves man's dominion in nature is the point of comparison, and while the complete notion included rational as well as moral resemblance, the latter is the element in it important for the doctrine of society. Jehovah is just and faithful, merciful and peaceful—so should a man be: this was the logic of Israel.

Here lies the explanation of the love of such Jews as Ezra—the period's typical man—for the Law of the Lord. While this was very far from being the final definition of Righteousness, it was the time's "working definition," and to fulfil it was a devout Israelite's delight. Law was as yet no yoke but a joy. There is ample evidence of this. For instance, men do not sing over a yoke, yet many Psalms hymn the Law. "O how I love Thy law, it is my meditation all the day"—this is the word of one and the burden of many.[1] Law reached now its zenith of use.

The Climax of Individualism

The doctrine of man's likeness to God was also the climax of Hebrew teaching on the side of individualism. Its history may be recalled. Israelite belief in the value of the individual had its roots in the far-away story that Jehovah chose for His friend a "common" man.[2] Among the first signs of its growth were the tenets that the Lord did not require human sacrifice, and that the slave was a member of the family—two tenets the one distinctive of Israel, the other common to it with its neighbour races but as fruitful with it as barren with them.[3] There was

[1] Ps. cxix. 97. *Cf.* this whole Psalm and, for instance, Ps. i., xix. 7-14, xxv. 8-14, xxxvii. 31. [2] See p. 12.

[3] See pp. 80 f., 15. *Cf.* also Gen. xviii. 16-33. For human sacrifice see also p. 102. In the post-Monarchic period there are several references to this practice as heathenish and abominable (Is. lvii. 5; Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2-5; Ps. cvi. 37 f.). These show how stagnant social theory was among Israel's neighbours. In view of them, too, it is probable that Ex. xiii. 2 should be interpreted by Num. xviii. 15, and that Lev. xxvii. 29 was an archaic rule that, as part of a legal system, survived the practice that it regulated—like English law against smuggling. If no human being were any longer "devoted," none would need to be sacrificed.

a further advance when under the Democracy of Families the codes of law declined "respect of persons" and the value of the poorest Israelite was admitted.[1] In that period, too, every household's head was a true individual. Next, under the pressure of the development of a complex society, there came in the Monarchy the recognition of the individual as a natural unit of human life, and some Psalms even built upon the truth that every man as such has worth for God.[2] But a last question remained —Why has the individual worth for God and what is the measure of his value? Post-Monarchic thought answered —Each man has worth for God because he is like God.

The importance of the individual in the thought of the time has other tokens.[3] It now became normal to distinguish the good and the evil not race by race, nor family by family, but man by man. For example, the appeal of Deutero-Isaiah was rather to the righteous individual than to the whole Hebrew race.[4] The Psalms of the period make the same distinction.[5] In them too the creed that God is careful of the fate of a single man, found already in some Monarchic Psalms,[6] is if possible even more confidently assumed—"My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?"[7] "Thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol; Neither wift Thou suffer Thine holy one to see corruption,"[8] "I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way which thou shalt go; I will counsel thee with

[1] See pp. 58 ff., 49. [2] See p. 115.

[3] It is not of course meant that other social units were not recognised—the nation is still frequently one in the thought of Deutero-Isaiah himself (*e.g.* Is. xl. *passim*) as well as elsewhere (*e.g.* Ex. xii. 12, xiv. 4, etc.; Lev. iv. 13; Num. xv. 25 f.; Ps. lxxx., lxxxv.); the tribe only survived in genealogical lore and in such passages as Judg. xx. 12 ff.; the family now as ever stood as a natural unit alongside the individual (*e.g.* Job xvii. 5, xx. 10; Zech. v. 1-4, xii. 12 ff.; Gen. vi. 18; Ps. cix. 9 f., 13 f.; 2 Chron. xxi. 14, 17; Dan. vi. 24), and there are texts to show that, as usual, conflict sometimes followed on this juxtaposition (Prov. xxx. 11, 17; Mal. iv. 6).

[4] *e.g.* Is. xlv. 9, l. 4, 10 f., li. 1, 2, 7, lv. 1, 7, lvi. 3, lvii. 13, lxiv. 5 f., lxv. 13 f. lxvi. 2, 5. *Cf.* pp. 186 f.

[5] *e.g.* Ps. i., iv., xi., xii., xvii., xxvi., xxxiv., lix., lxvi. 13-20, lxxi., lxxv., lxxxiv., cxli. *Cf* xxx., xxxix., li. and Ex. xxxv. 31; Lev. xviii. 5; Mal. iii. 16 ff.; Dan. xii. 10.

[6] See p. 115. [7] Ps. xxii. 1. [8] Ps. xvi. 10.

Mine eye upon thee,"[1] "I am poor and needy; Make haste unto me, O God,"[2] "Remember me, O Lord, with the favour that Thou bearest unto Thy people; O visit me with Thy salvation."[3] So, too, the long 119th Psalm treats law as the individual's guide—the older notion that it was the people's rule being quite secondary. Even the Psalms that proclaim the feebleness of man and his frailty, suppose, with a pathetic inconsequence, that he is still equal to the particular providence of the Almighty. What a frame of mind was his who could say in one breath, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him. . . . As for man, his days are as grass"![4]

Other books bear the same testimony in characteristic ways. Unlike his great predecessors, Deutero-Isaiah defers the commination of the wicked great to the encouragement of the weak good; the puzzle of Ecclesiastes is that of an individual's lot; the Song of Songs sings the love of a simple mountain shepherd and his sweetheart; Nehemiah intermits his narrative of the rescue of the Lord's people by personal appeals to God;[5] the parable of Jonah tells how the Lord hunted an individual man through the alien sea and over the alien land; Daniel is as much occupied with the deliverance first of three faithful Jews and then of one, as with the evolution of history,[6] and its last word is of the fate, not of the universe, but of a single man—"Go thou thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest, and shalt stand in thy lot at the end of the days."[7] To say that in some of these passages the "I" personifies the nation is beside the mark, for the mere possibility that a nation could be treated, not only as a unit, but a *person*, itself requires a developed individualism.[8]

This is true, too, of a still greater illustration of the individual's worth—the Book of Job. While it is probably

[1] Ps. xxxii. 8.
[2] Ps. lxx. 5.
[3] Ps. cvi. 4 f.; *cf.* Ps. ix. 13 f., xvii., xli., lxix., cii., cxvi.; Job. xxxiii. 4.
[4] Ps. ciii. 14-17; *cf.* Ps. viii. 4 f., xxxix., cxxxix.
[5] Neh. ii. 8, 12, v. 19, xiii. 14, 31, etc.
[6] Dan. iii. 17, vi. 16, 22.
[7] Dan. xii. 13; *cf.* v. 1.
[8] See p. 115, footnote 5.

a parable of the nation, its formal assumption is that a solitary man may arraign the Almighty! Even Jeremiah's altercation with Jehovah[1] is here surpassed, for, while Jeremiah ventured the private and intimate expostulation of a familar with a great friend, Job's is a public challenge. He stands forth to fling his gage before the throne. And, though the Lord interrupts to rebuke his ignorance, yet at the close it stands written—"And the Lord accepted Job."[2] His great remonstrance with his Maker was not unjustified. A doctrine of the single man's worth indeed! As the pre-Monarchic period was the hey-day in Israel of the singular importance of the family, so the post-Monarchic brought the summer of individualism.

Though the subject of poverty is omitted in this volume, it may be noted in passing that its history too bears witness to the time's recognition of the worth of the ordinary man. The claims of the poor man had not wanted advocates in Israel's past, but hitherto he had never urged his own plea. Now first he spoke for himself, and he did so in the characteristic Hebrew way—he carried his plaint straight to God. The many Psalms in which the poor plead their own cause with the Almighty all belong to this epoch,[3] and behind them all there lies the postulate that God does care for every single poor man—that even he has a natural right to self-realisation, to be what God means men to be.[4]

The Dominion of the World

The complement of this doctrine of man's worth was the creed that he is to be the world's lord. This was the upshot of the old tenet that prosperity is the corollary of Righteousness.[5] The circumstances of the time often,

[1] See pp. 114 f.
[2] Job. xlii. 9.
[3] See Additional Note 8.
[4] *Cf.* p. 174.
[5] *Cf.* pp. 9, 30 f., 34 f., 101 f. For the creed that prosperity is a boon, see for this period, Is. xlix. 14-21, lii. 13–liii. 12 (the prosperity of the "Suffering Servant" begins and ends this passage—lii. 13 mg., liii. 10 ff.), lv. 12 f., lx. 35; Zech. i. 17, ii. 4, viii. 19; Prov. xxxi. 10 ff.; Joel ii. 18 ff., iii. 18 ff.; Job i.,

or even usually, severed the two, but this did not lead to the abandonment of prosperity in the Jewish ideal. The Stoic theory that all is well with the virtuous man—whether he be rich or poor, satiated or hungry, successful or defeated—has an heroic side, and it would seem specially to have suited the circumstances of Israel in the centuries when Stoicism was born in Greece, but the Jew never embraced it. To have done so would have betrayed one of the articles of his old faith. For Stoicism, when it is logical, requires that the world of nature has no value—that, if not evil, it is at least worthless—while Israel held that it is man's good and God-given home. The Jew now said this in a final way—he declared explicitly that Jehovah made the world, that He made it good, and that He gave it to man. These are just the burdens of the stately story of creation that opens the Old Testament.

Daniel's account of the end of the world is consonant with this account of its beginning. He pictured current history as a series of kingdoms under the dominion of "Beasts,"—that is, he held that the Babylonian, the Persian, and the other Empires of his age, were not really human but embodied the brute force and the animal impulse rather than the proper character of man. But he held, too, that the world is destined to fall at last under the sway of true humanity—"I saw in the night visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a *son of man*, and he came even unto the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."[1] Another text in the same chapter ascribes rule to the "Most High" Himself.[2] The issue of

ii., xxix. 2-25, xlii. Ps. i. xvi., lxv., cxii. 3. For prosperity as the fruit of righteousness, see Is. liv. 11-17, lx. 21, lxv. 13-25, xxvi. 1 ff.; Hag. ii. 14-19; Zech. v. 5-11; Lev. xxv. 18 ff., xxvi. 3ff; Mal. iv. 2; Ps. l., xxxiv 12-14, lxviii., lxxxv. 10-13, cxii. This is the *motif* of Chronicles, and even Job's close admits that it is Jehovah's ultimate rule. *Cf.* Ezra ix. 7 ff.]

[1] Dan. vii. 13 f.

[2] Dan. vii. 27.

history is somehow to be the "dominion" at once of humanity and of God.[1] Here again the two are linked.

The Problem of the "Nations Beyond"

But what of the "Nations Beyond?" The doctrine that man is made in the image of God is naturally universal. Hebrew thought was now faced with a world of beings of whom this great concept must be true, and yet who were either ignorant of the true God or hostile to Him.[2] What was to be said of that world and its fate?

The history of the Jew at the time made the problem pressing,[3] for in the "Dispersion" he first became Cosmopolitan. He was everywhere now. What was he to say of the relation of his God to his world? What was that God's relation to the multitudes of "heathen" who bore His image and were capable of Righteousness?

The answer of normal older thought—as distinct from Isaiah's peculiar message—would have been a universal suzerainty of force,[4] and this concept does occur in post-Monarchic documents.[5] But such a suzerainty, though better than the "Herem" it displaced, yet treated other nations as prey. One term for "submit" was still "deceive"[6]—submission, that is, was still but a convenient lie! Could this be the final fate of a world of men made in the image of God? There is traceable at this time a slow approximation to the ideal portrayed so long before by Isaiah.[7]

[1] *Cf.* p. 206.

[2] For the disobedient *within* Israel coercion and destruction were still the usual fate—*e.g.* Ezra vii. 25 f.; Ps. x. 15, xi. 6, xii. 3, xxxiv. 21, xxxv. 5-8, xciv. 23, civ. 35, cxlix. 6 ff. *Cf.* pp. 224 f.

[3] The little Aramæan world was indeed still a unity (*e.g.* Obadiah, Zech. ix. 1-8; Ps. lxxxiii. 6-8, cviii. 8-10. *Cf.* p. 147) and there are post-Exilic texts that treat tiny Israel as the one care of an Almighty Providence (*e.g.* Is. xlv. 4, xlix. 22-26, li. 16; Zech. ii. 8; Neh. ix. 6 ff.; Ps lxxx., lxxxiii., cxlviii. 14, cxlix. 6 ff.), but this was not the point of progress.

[4] See pp. 147 ff.

[5] *e.g.* Is. xi. 14, xlv. 14, lxi. 5 f.; Obad. 17-21; Ps. xlvii., lxviii. 11-18.

[6] *e.g.* Ps. lxvi. 3; *cf.* p. 151, footnote 3.

[7] See pp. 150 ff.

"*The Day of the Lord*"

First there emerged the notion that God would assert His power over the heathen, not as mere force, but by an act of judgement. The typical phrase for this idea was "The Day of the Lord." Whatever may have been its original meaning, by the post-Exilic period it had become essentially a "Day" of *judgement*. But judgement was a prime element in the notion of Righteousness.[1] The thought was now fully worked out that Jehovah would crush the "heathen" not merely because they were "heathen," but because they were unrighteous.[2] They had a right to justice. In other words, a truth was asserted which had always inhered in the idea itself,—that Righteousness was apt to universal human nature and was not a monopoly of Israel.[3]

The Goal and the Way to It

Yet neither was this the time's last word on the nature of Jehovah's universal realm. Could even righteous punishment or deserved destruction be all that there was to say about a mankind whose members were made for the Righteousness which distinguishes God Himself? Were Righteousness and its complement prosperity to be always impossible for the greater part of men? Again and again the thought occurs that beyond the judgement of the heathen there lay another and happier state, when they, as well as Israel, should worship the Lord—when, that is, the link that made Israel one, should bind them too. Once more the Hebrew's distinction appears—he founded his universal commonwealth on universal worship. He dreamt now of a perfect, world-wide society whose head was God. Was not God the Creator of all men?

A number of texts exhibit the idea. If any writer's

[1] See pp. 129 ff.

[2] There are typical instances in Ps. ix. 5 ff.; Joel iii. 2 f., 13 f.; Obad. *Cf.* pp. 116, 152.

[3] Job, too, presents in reality not a Jewish but a universal problem.

circumstances might fairly make him careless of the fate of all but Israel, it would be Deutero-Isaiah, yet he directly made the passage from the doctrine of a universal Creator to that of a universal Providence—"Thus saith God the Lord, He that created the heavens and . . . spread abroad the earth . . . He that giveth breath unto the people that are upon it. . . . I the Lord have called thee [the Servant] in righteousness, and will . . . give thee for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house."[1] Again, a series of Psalms combine the three ideas of Creation, Righteousness, and the universal worship of God.[2] So, too, the prayer put into the mouth of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple expects the universal worship of Jehovah.[3]

Perhaps, however, three longer passages best illustrate the characteristic attitude of this period, because they poise, as it were, between the notion of the universal worship of Jehovah by a willing world—so long foretold by Isaiah—and the other concept of a world lying under the coercive judgement of God. One of these is the 68th Psalm. Here, within a few verses, the alien nations are represented as the scattered "wild beasts of the reeds" and "multitude of bulls," and are exhorted to the worship of the Lord.[4] The second passage is the climacteric vision of Zechariah. Here the first consequence of the "Day of the Lord" for "all the peoples that have warred against Jerusalem," is the horrid fate that "their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet, and their eyes shall consume away in their sockets, and their tongue shall consume away in their mouth."[5] But a later verse adds that "every one that is left of all the nations which come against Jerusalem shall go up from year to year to

[1] Is. xlii. 1-9; *cf.* xlix. 6, li. 4-6, lv. 5, lxvi. 23, xxv. 6 f. See pp. 188 f.

[2] Ps. xxii. 27 f., lxv. 2, lxxxvi. 9, xcvi., xcvii., xcviii., cii.; *cf.* lxxxvii., cl. 6.

[3] 1 Kings viii. 41-3. Here too Israel's privilege is also asserted (v. 53). If this passage belong to the end of the Monarchy, the "overlapping" of periods appears (Introd.). The prayer marks the culmination of the Old Testament doctrine of the "Ger."

[4] Ps. lxviii. 30, 32.

[5] Zech. xiv. 1, 12.

worship the King, the Lord of Hosts, and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles." [1] No doubt this would be largely the worship of fear, but "the fear of Jehovah" rather than "the love of God" was still Israel's phrase for its own worship too. The most significant passages of all, however, are the apocalyptic parts of Daniel. As this Book's stories of the Deliverance of Daniel and of the three Hebrew children assert in a unique way a particular providence, so does its account of the world-empires of its time a universal. At first sight its witness seems on the side of the universalism of force—"And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms and it shall stand for ever," [2] —but this is not all that Daniel has to say. It is remarkable how little, alike in the visions of his second, seventh, and eleventh chapters, God seems to be doing in the story of the world of human society. Yet He is by no means a mere spectator. He is something different both from a spectator and a despot. If the phrase may be allowed, He is for this seer the almighty Statesman. He does not prevent the rise of evil societies by force, nor confound them by mere omnipotence when they have risen, but all the time His providence is watching, all the time His statesmanship transcends human plans, ever He is getting His way. No longer does the Hebrew cry, "O that Thou wouldst the heavens rend," for he has reached the idea that, while God will not coerce man, He will yet not allow man to defeat His purpose. For the first time there is an attempt made to reconcile omnipotence and freedom. So, too, the final dominion of the "son of man," unlike its bestial predecessors, was not to base on force.[3]

[1] v. 16.

[2] Dan. ii. 44 f.; *cf.* xii. 1.

[3] Dan. vii. 13 *f.*; *cf.* xii. 3. Contrast some other Apocalypses—"The theocratic ideal of a spiritual kingdom, in which the Moral Ideal is realised by obedience to the law, is gradually lost sight of, and its place is taken by an ethico-political kingdom, to be established by the sword under the leadership of a Messianic Prince" (Maldwyn Hughes, "Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature," p. 104, *cf.* p. 291).

It was not to deny human freedom. In a single verse this writer declares that the ideal kingdom shall be ruled both by the company of true men, "the people of the saints of the Most High," and by God Himself.[1] A verbal contradiction is sometimes the nearest approximation to ultimate truth. The final universalism will conserve the liberty alike of man and God. This must be so if man is made in God's image.

Section C.—The Love of my Neighbour

The Watchword of Altruism

In the midst of the Priestly narrative of the Book of Leviticus there are ten chapters known as the Code of Holiness.[2] They are usually assigned to the Exile or the time just before,[3] and they display a temper akin in some ways to that of the earlier Deuteronomic code and in others to the later Levitical one. The most noteworthy instance of their likeness to Deuteronomy is a passage that deals with certain details of Hebrew daily life.[4] At the end of these, as casually as though it were a mere afterthought, there is flung in a remark that millenniums later was to become one of the watchwords of mankind—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

A great part of the preceding chapters outlines this principle's gradual discovery. It was no accident that the first chosen community was a family—a society basing on co-operation—or that the chosen family was not of an exclusive type.[5] Again, when the single home grew into a nation, there still lay upon each Israelite a responsibility for the safety, the livelihood, and even the morality of his neighbours.[6] Similarly the concept of the equal rights of all underlay the earliest codes of Hebrew law and appeared in the admission of the helpless "ger" to citizenship.[7] Next, under the Kingdom there developed the master idea of Righteousness—an idea whose four chief

[1] Dan. vii. 27; *cf.* pp. 201 f.
[2] Lev. xvii.-xxvi.
[3] *Cf.* Introduction.
[4] Lev. xix. 1-4 and 9-18.
[5] See pp. 10 f., 15 f.
[6] See pp. 42 ff.; *cf.* pp. 34 ff.
[7] See pp. 55 ff., 89 ff.

elements had all primarily a neighbourly reference.[1] In face, too, of the evolution of a society graded in diverse ranks, the Prophets discovered another master principle—that all privilege is responsibility for those who have it not.[2] The way to the great goal was a long one and wearisome sometimes, but Israel had unfalteringly taken it, and at last a teacher almost unawares made the mark—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The phrase, however, is an incomplete quotation. At the risk of repetition *ad nauseam* it must once more be pointed out that every one of the anticipations of altruism named in the last paragraph had its ground in the will of Jehovah. So, when at last the great principle's explicit assertion was reached, it ran—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. I am the Lord." Just because the "remnant" of Israel loved Jehovah with peculiar closeness, it was peculiarly apt for altruism. Modern thinkers have severed the love of man from the love of God, but the Bible maintains their inalienable union. Neither in Israel nor in Christianity can these two be separated—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart," "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

One advantage of the connexion may here be noted. The maxim of altruism by itself prescribes a temper but does not set a standard. If a man adopt the rule of the love of his neighbour, he still needs a measure of value.[3] What is he to seek equally for himself and his neighbour? The mere maxim gives no guidance. Only if there be allied with it some definition of excellence, can anyone practise the precept at all. To describe the various accounts that modern altruistic theories have given of man's proper end—usually of a hedonistic character—does not belong here, but the Biblical theory easily meets the need, for its theory of the fit end of man evolved along-

[1] See pp. 125 ff. [2] See pp. 168 ff.

[3] *Cf.* Bernard to an Archbishop-Elect—"If you are about to love the souls that would be confided to you as you have loved your own hitherto, I would rather not be confided than be so loved" (Gasquet, "Some Letters of St Bernard," pp. 28 f.).

side altruism. The period that reached the latter principle in its simple depth reached also the other deep but simple notion that the proper destiny of man is to be like God.[1]

Again, the principle does not denounce but assumes self-love. Herein is its sanity, for there is no reason why a man should give himself to the bettering of his neighbour unless he believe in the worth of every man and so of himself. If man is no more, for instance, than the sport of fate, whose one chance of bliss is to escape from himself, as Hinduism and Buddhism avow, then a fellow-man's good is no more worth pursuit than one's own, and it were foolish to seek felicity for either. The assumption of the worth of others builds on that of self, for it is in himself that each man directly discovers the nature of mankind. They who urge altruism to the exclusion of egoism, destroy the ladder by which they climb. Biblical thought, on the contrary, runs in this order—"I am of worth for God, and my perfection is therefore a worthy aim," "my neighbour too is a man and so of worth for God;" "therefore I should seek his perfection as well as my own."[2] The harmful kind of egoism is the distortion of a truth. Its mistake is that it treats one man as though he were the *only* or the *chief* thing of worth in the universe of God. Self is of worth—of the worth of a being that bears the Divine image—but so too is every other self. Mere egoism and mere altruism are alike incomplete, and the Old Testament, being a book not of the spinning of theory but the practice of life, boldly measures the one by the other—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The Fulfilling of the Decalogue

In the period after the Kings this principle was applied in a new and startling way, as will appear in the next Section. There were also further applications of it to old subjects. These may be represented by the passage in which the great watchword first occurs.[3] For it illus-

[1] See pp. 195 ff.
[2] *Cf.* Mal. ii. 10.
[3] Lev. xix. 9-18, 34; *cf.* vi. 1-5.

trates another phenomenon too—the way in which Hebrew social theory tended gradually to "fulfil" or complete the Decalogue. The process had begun under the Kings, as the last chapter frequently implied, but the passage now in question is a peculiarly good single illustration of it because, almost in set terms, it starts from the Decalogue's words.[1] "Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another"—how much further this goes than the bare prohibition of theft! "Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the blind"—these seem feeble expressions of brotherhood until they are set beside the balder and more ancient edict, "Thou shalt not kill!" "Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people"—this is modern enough; how it advances on "Thou shalt not bear false witness!" "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart. . . . Thou shalt not bear any grudge against the children of thy people,"—the inward teaching of the Tenth Word is bearing fruit. The Jew had discovered that the "social" commandments are but a kind of "beggarly elements;" he probed for the principle that informs them; unawares he found it—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. I am the Lord." So the fellowship of an obscure sect evolved a universal and final principle, so an unknown legalist set the world its mark.

Exclusiveness and Universalism

But "who is my neighbour?" Every Israelite, of course, whether he belong to the little restored community around Jerusalem or not. For in theory Israel still included all the Twelve Tribes, and their reunion was frequently promised.[2] Perhaps the best single illustration

[1] The first, or "theological," part of the Decalogue underlies some earlier verses in the chapter (vv. 2-4).

[2] *e.g.* Is. xi. 13; Jer. l. 4, 20, 33; Zech. viii. 13, ix. 10, 13, x. 6 f., xi. 7, 14; *cf.* 1 Chron. ix. 3; 2 Chron. xxviii. 8-15, xxx. 1, 10, 18; Ezra vi. 17, viii. 35; Ps. lxviii. 27. See also Matt. xix. 28; Luke ii. 36, xxii. 30; Acts xxvi. 7; James i. 1; Rev. vii. 5 ff., xxi. 12; and the names "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" and "Epistle to the Hebrews." *Cf.* pp. 110 f.

is the Chronicler's story of Oded.[1] It is true that he ascribes it to the time of the Monarchy, but, while it may have had a historical basis,[2] its temper as well as its phraseology belong to the next period. It tells how a prophet named Oded, meeting the army of Northern Israel laden with the spoil of defeated Judah, by resolutely asserting the Lord's anger against such a breach of brotherhood drew from the victor his prey, and restored the captives to their own land. They return carrying the rescued spoil, and the "feeble" among them borne "upon asses." "Now therefore hear ye me," cried this vindicator of Jehovah, "and send back the captives which ye have taken captive *of your brethren*: for the fierce wrath of the Lord is upon you." Every Israelite was still a brother and a "neighbour."

But what of the non-Israelite? The ancient admission of the "ger"—the alien domiciled in Palestine who conformed to the cult of Jehovah—to the privileges of the Hebrew was still maintained,[3] and the Code of Holiness even repeated the altruistic command for his sake,[4] but what of other aliens? It was found in the last Section that the thought of the time hesitated between the universalism of force, of judgement, and of worship,[5]—that is to say, the view taken of *Jehovah's* relation to the alien varied, and it is only in accordance with the usual procedure of Hebrew thought that the view taken of an *Israelite's* relation to him should vary too.

Intolerance was the normal attitude. For instance, in the surviving account of the Plagues of Egypt, which belongs to the documents of this time, it is plain that the fate ascribed to the Egyptians gave the current conscience of Israel no shock. Similarly the Book of Esther exults because once at any rate the Jews throughout the Persian

[1] 2 Chron. xxviii. 10-15. The Books of Kings don't name the incident.

[2] *Cf.* 1 Kings xii. 24, and see pp. 110 f.

[3] Lev. xvi. 29, xvii. 8-15, xxiv. 10-23, xxv. 6, 35 f.; Num. ix. 14, xxxv. 15; 2 Chron. xxx. 25. The Levitical law, in contrast with the Deuteronomic, sometimes assumes that the "ger" enjoyed its boons and insists rather that he shall observe its bonds. *Cf.* also p. 204, footnote 3.

[4] Lev. xix. 34.

[5] See pp. 202 ff.

Empire were able to retaliate upon their alien neighbours. The same Book regards the care of Israel as the one proper business both of the Lord and of a true Jew. "Mordecai the Jew was next unto king Ahasuerus, and great among the Jews, and accepted of the multitude of his brethren: *seeking the good of his people and speaking peace to all his seed.*"[1] Ezra and Nehemiah, again, persistently excluded the alien inhabitants of Palestine from part or lot in Israel. The leaders of Israel's Return, that is, were innocent of neighbourliness in the very name of the Lord![2] Men defending a last and hard-won citadel, do not admit all comers indiscriminately at its gates. Exclusiveness was essential to the survival of the Hebrew nation and the Hebrew faith, and quite justifiable for the time on the principle of Accommodation.

But there was danger, as the Book of Esther especially shows, lest Israel's preservation should be reckoned Jehovah's end, and not merely His means to a further end. It is, therefore, noteworthy, on the other hand, that several passages of this period represent God's choice of Israel as a method of blessing the world. For instance, in one of Deutero-Isaiah's oracles of "the Servant of the Lord"—and in one that itself identifies the "Servant" with the ideal Israelite—there is this verse—"It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be My Servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that My salvation may be unto the end of the earth."[3] Similarly a Psalm of the time prays—"God be merciful unto us and bless us . . . That thy way may be known upon earth, Thy saving health among all nations,"[4] and a striking figure in Zechariah tells how "In those days ten men shall take hold, out of all the languages of the nations, shall even take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that

[1] Esther ix. 15 f., x. 3; *cf.* iv. 14.
[2] *e.g.* Ezra iv. 2 f., ix. 12, x.; Neh. ii. 20, ix. 2, x. 28-30, xiii. 1-3, 23 ff.
[3] Is. xlix. 6; *cf.* xlii. 1-9, xlv. 20-25, and passages in p. 204, footnote 1.
[4] Ps. lxvii.; *cf.* Ps. xcix., cvi. 3 f.

God is with you."[1] Even Ezra seems to have hesitated about excluding "converted" aliens from the worship of the Temple.[2] The principle involved in the ancient admission of the "ger" to brotherhood was becoming clear; the basis of men's unity is their common relation to God; true universalism is common worship.

The "Burden" of Jonah

But alongside these hints there stands a whole Book whose one "burden" is universalism—the Book of Jonah. It does not much matter whether it is called a parable, an allegory, or a "problem novel," if its specific teaching is grasped. Its first postulate is that God made and controls the universe, including even that strange sea whose monsters have ever been to landsmen like the Jews the types of the uncontrollable and the mysterious.[3] It assumes next that to God the fate of all His creatures—even of the hated Ninevite, and the despised beast—is a care.[4] It asserts, further, that the alien is fitted for Righteousness—for the Most High deplores his "wickedness"—and that God will spare and pity any who turn to Him, even though they be foreign sailors or the denizens of Nineveh the Cruel.[5] Finally, it avows that, inasmuch as all men are thus equal to the destiny of the service of God, it was the duty of the unwilling Jew, who alone knew Him perfectly, to carry the tidings of His nature to all men, even to those who had most ruthlessly oppressed him! And this responsibility, formally laid only on an individual Jew, is in him typically laid on the nation. The lesson was not learnt, much less practised, for the Jew ceased even to understand the precious message of this Book, yet with his unerring instinct for religious truth, he put it alone of its kind into his Canon. "The Lord said, . . . Should not I have pity on Nineveh?"—that

[1] Zech. viii. 20-23; *cf.* ii. 10 f.

[2] Ezra vi. 21 (in contrast with iv. 2 f.); *cf.* Ezra i. 3; Esther viii. 17; Dan. iv. 34 ff.

[3] *e.g.* Jonah i. 4, 9, 17, ii. 10, iv. 6-8.

[4] Jonah iv. 10 f.

[5] Jonah i. 2, 14-16, iii. 10.

is, Jehovah loves his people's foes! What a revolution since the days when the Lord marshalled Israel to "death-devote" the Canaanites! Yet Jonah is only logic, for the doctrine that a man must love his fellow because he too is made in the Divine image, is naturally universal.

Still, the deepest word of this epoch about the love of "my neighbour" is not in Jonah. What it was must next be asked.

Section D.—The Ministry of Undeserved Disadvantage

The Suffering of the Good

While the belief that man is made in the image of God elucidated the principle of the love of "my neighbour," it also raised sharply the problem of undeserved disadvantage, for in a certain way it implies that all men are equal. Even under the Kings, Israel had begun to grope towards the idea that every man ought to have the opportunity to realise his nature, or, to put the same thing from the usual Hebrew point of view, to be what God meant him to be.[1] True, no two men would even then live quite the same life, for God has made no two quite alike, but every man would none the less have in a true sense equality of opportunity. In the education of his children, a wise father tries to give to each child the best preparation possible for the worthy development of that which the child worthily desires—he seeks to gratify the proper ambition of all. This may require that he spend more money on one than another, or maintain one at home at an age when another has plunged into independent life, yet theirs is still an equality in his love. In a similar way, from the two beliefs that God has made men one by one and different, and that He has yet made them all in His own image, it follows that all are equal with Him. Job gives the right connexion—"He regardeth not the rich more than the poor, for they are all the work of His hands."[2]

[1] See p. 174.

[2] Job xxxiv. 19; *cf* xxxi. 15.

So again the ritual law of the Jew, while in some things it discriminated in favour of the poor,[1] in one particular declared the equal worth of all Israelites before Jehovah—the Half Shekel that a man gave as " a ransom for his soul unto the Lord " was to be universal—" The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less." [2] The old Hebrew condemnation of " respect of persons " persisted still.

Again, the notion of self-realisation may be applied not only to individuals but to nations. The Providence that made man set him also in societies, and the conclusion is not remote that God has some definite design for each race, and that He will so control history that each nation shall develope its own characteristic kind of worth. This general conclusion was not yet explicitly drawn, though there are hints of it [3]—but its application to Israel in particular was common. Through Jehovah Israel was sure to " realise herself." By this hope she lived.

Yet not only the Exile but Israel's experience on the Return contradicted the belief.[4] In earlier times it had been possible to represent suffering, whether individual or national, as punishment for sin, but now the best race in the world, represented by a company of people who had braved the Return for God's sake, was ever at a disadvantage while her proud foes succeeded; now too within that race the godly—which still in Israel meant the good citizen — saw continually the wicked flourish at his expense. What of this undeserved disadvantage? There is no mere girding at rank in the documents, none of the demagogue's demand for a false and unreal kind of equality—for differences of rank are still accepted as normal [5]—but there is constant questioning about the mystery of providence in the disasters of the worthy. The problem was still more acute because the value of the individual for God had now reached clear avowal. It was no longer possible to say even to a solitary sufferer,

[1] *e.g.* Lev. v. 7, 11, xii. 8, xiv. 21, xix. *passim*, xxvii. 8.
[2] Ex. xxx. 15. [3] See pp. 202, 212 f. [4] See pp. 185 f.
[5] *e.g.* Ezra vii. 25, viii. 36, x. 14; Neh. ii. 16.

"Your fate is too small a matter to count;" Job, even if there had been no other like him, could not be ignored.

As already seen, the general answer of the faithful to the question was to admit the mystery of God's present ways but to assert by a triumph of faith that the future would vindicate both Him and the suffering righteous.[1] The unfaithful, on the other hand, denied Providence, and while not theoretic atheists—for the denial of God's existence belongs to a much later stage of thought—were practically so. This temper showed itself in two ways—in the wanton assurance of the evil-doer that "God will not require it," and in the reduction of worship to form. Several Psalms witness the first,[2] the Prophet Malachi the second.[3] No one with a real faith in Providence would bring a blind beast for sacrifice, yet the last Hebrew Prophet complains that the Jews of his day had gone further—they saw no harm in the practice! It is likely that this practical denial of God's place in human life was far more widespread than the Books of the period in general show, for their principal subject is those who believed. These, awaiting through the confident centuries the vindication of their God, saved their people in that dark time. One day He would "bring it to pass."

"*The Man of Sorrows*"

This however is not all. In a solitary thinker the experience of undeserved disadvantage in its most acute form, undeserved suffering, led to a new application of the principle of responsibility. The responsibility of *equals* for each other began to receive fairly adequate recognition in Israel in its period of the practice of equality—the Democracy of Families;[4] the responsibility of *privilege* was fully preached by the Prophets of the Monarchy, when first the privileges of a few became part

[1] See pp. 188 ff.
[2] *e.g.* Ps. x. 3 f., xiv. 1, xlii. 3, lxiv. 5, xciv. 7-10.
[3] Mal. i. 6-10; *cf.* iv. 4 f.
[4] See pp. 42 ff.

of the usual constitution of the Hebrew nation;[1] a third application of the principle was possible—to the responsibility of equals for equals and that of superiors for inferiors might be added that of *inferiors* for superiors. For its enunciation the post-Monarchic period, as being one long experience of disadvantage, was peculiarly apt. The writer of Deutero-Isaiah made this last application in the deepest of all Old Testament passages.

This passage is the description of the prosperity of the suffering "Servant of Jehovah."[2] It is remarkable how unique it is, how fully it was one man's "open secret." Of almost all other great social ideas in the Bible it is possible to note the coming, but this master thought leaped all but unheralded into view, to sink as suddenly away again. It is as though the sun were one day to rise without the preparation of dawn, and were as unexpectedly to set. Yet the New Testament was to show that this doctrine too was an integral part of the Bible theory of society.

It has been seen that the Book of Jonah is remarkable as the admission of the world-wide duty of Israel.[3] It proclaimed that the Ninevites, as well as the Hebrews, had a place in the creation and the mercy of God. But this was really only another application of the old doctrine of the responsibility of privilege, for to know the true God was the Jew's unique boon. Jonah's escape from the sea by the "great fish" was just an abnormal figure for Israel's superlative privilege. Yet, while it was an extraordinary achievement to apply the theory of responsibility to the most ruthless and so the most hated of Israel's old foes,[4] and though there was here a great advance on the old opinion, still widely held during this epoch,[5] that the

[1] See pp. 168 ff. This had become an axiom by the post-Monarchic epoch —*e.g.* Is. xliv. 28, lv. 4, lvi. 9–lvii. 2, lviii. 3-8, lxii. 6; Jer. l. 44; Lev. xxi. 9; Hag. i. 2 ff, 12 f.; Zech. iii. 6 f., vi. 11 ff., xi.; Prov. xxxi. 4 f.; Mal. ii. 5-9; Neh. v. 14-18; Esther iv. 14; Dan. xii. 3 mg.

[2] Is. lii. 13–liii. 12.

[3] See pp. 212 f.

[4] *Cf.* pp. 193, 203 ff. A few scattered texts may be quoted in parallel—*e.g.* Ps. xi. 6, xxxv. 5-8, xciv. 23, civ. 35, cix. 4-20, cxxxvii. 9, cxlix. 6 ff.

[5] *e.g.* Prov. xxiv. 29 (*cf.* xx. 22); Job xxxi. 29, xlii. 10; Ps. xxxv. 13 f. (*cf.* v. 8). *Cf.* pp. 202 ff.

proper fate of the Chosen People's enemies was destruction, the utmost that the unwilling Prophet in the Book of Jonah was brought reluctantly to admit was that God might require that he preach to a wicked Nineveh and upon its repentance might spare even it. This was a matter of infinite chagrin to Jonah—and to the ordinary Israelite whom he represented. He was equally "angry" that God should allow the "gourd" of his own privilege to perish, and that Jehovah should "repent of the evil that He had said that He would do unto" Nineveh and "do it not."[1] What would he have said of the suggestion that Israel should bear in Nineveh's stead the woeful meed of its sin? Yet this is what Deutero-Isaiah found to be the intention of God! He rightly expected that his discovery would astonish the world—"So shall He startle many nations."[2]

Formally the whole passage is an outsider's account of the Lord's "Servant," but this is only the writer's dramatic way of putting his discovery. It does not mean that he himself was a mere observer of the experience that he so poignantly depicted. Everywhere in his book there is the thrill of the sympathy of one who experiences the lot that he describes. It is this indeed that gives his message its peculiar sweetness. So, when he comes to plumb as none before him the mystery of pain, while ostensibly delineating a portrait from an onlooker's point of view, he really draws out the Servant's own conviction about his own mission. Indeed in his degree, this Prophet actually was Jehovah's Suffering Servant. It would be unjust to deny him so much.

But that one suffering at the hands of implacable foes should think of his sufferings as a means to those foes' blessing—that so conceiving them, he should willingly submit—that he should think of such undeserved and yet welcome woe as the path to true prosperity—what a great, true guess at the mysteries of God![3] At the time when the disadvantaged first began to urge their own rights,[4]

[1] Jonah iv. 8, iii. 10, iv. 1. [2] Is. lii. 15.
[3] See G. A. Smith's exposition in "The Expositor's Bible." [4] See p. 200.

one of them realised also their responsibility. A man may be a sufferer as well as a king for his brethren's sake. He ought even willingly to suffer for his brethren, though they are also his foes, for this too is the way of Providence —"It hath pleased the Lord to bruise him." There is an altruistic ministry of pain!

The "Solidarity" of Mankind

One of the social characteristics of this dread vision is its reassertion of solidarity. It recognises, indeed, individual freedom—for its doctrine of responsibility would have had no meaning if the sufferer Job-like had writhed beneath the lash—yet the Servant uses his freedom willingly to suffer for others his foes. And such vicarious suffering avails—"He bare the sin of many." This was to claim that in some undiscerned way mankind is more than a bundle of individual men, that the race is a unit as well as separate.

Further, individualism was here transcended in a new way. That the joys and sorrows of one member of a *family* involved those of the others, that this was partly true even of a *nation*, belonged of old to the common experience of man—indeed it had been held not only that this was so, but that it ought to be so.[1] Now, however, a seer caught the first far glimpse of the intimacy of the unity of all *mankind*. Any one of its sons may bear the burdens of another. He may even bear another's sins.

And so he himself will grow perfect! The other great Hebrew enquiry into the mystery of undeserved suffering makes the man Job, not a member of society, but solitary. God and he fill the universe—all else is but accessory. The onlookers make no mention of "our griefs," "our sorrows." The writer of the vision of the Servant, on the other hand, takes as his theme the sin of the rest of men. Yet like Job he postulates the worth of self, for his climax is the Servant's own prosperity. He gives, therefore, due place alike to self and mankind; he has the

[1] See pp. 42 ff., 70 ff.

sanity that makes both real; he declares that he who loves his neighbours enough to die for them is a wise lover of himself—"Behold My Servant shall prosper." The passage that seems most to require self-abandonment proclaims self-realisation—"He shall see his seed; he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand." The individual and mankind are to reach perfection together.

Again, the passage applies this doctrine not only to individuals but to nations. It is true that the vision itself, like the Book of Job, treats ostensibly of a single sufferer, and that the application of its teaching to the lot of the individual is both immediate and justifiable, but it is also true that probably the writer really wrote of his race. In his vision the astonished "nations" watch Jehovah visit their sin upon His favourite people! His topic is their rescue by Israel's woe! Deutero-Isaiah discovered that a particular people's singular and undeserved *suffering*, as well as its singular and undeserved *privilege*, may be a means to the world's blessing. This did not, of course, altogether resolve the puzzle of inequality, but it mitigated its apparent injustice. A nation that had accepted a distinctive privilege for centuries as consonant with the Righteousness of God, could not logically decline a distinctive woe. Human nature, however, is not logical—for one who dispassionately recognises his undeserved joy a thousand passionately bewail their undeserved pain—and the Israel that had for generations acquiesced in the boon of peculiar blessings, raised quick questions about peculiar sorrow. Yet complaint was not its last word. Its religious genius appeared once again. The last great Prophet of the Old Testament challenged his nation willingly to bear the world's sin. So it would realise itself.

To the age, therefore, that first fully asserted the rights of the meek, there was given also a witness of their responsibility One was found to say "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" even when thou art the victim of his wrongs!

The doctrine of the responsibility of disadvantage has, of course, many applications. No other, however, was made at the time—except, in a groping way, to toil, a subject here omitted. It was enough that the principle had been discovered in the extreme instance of undeserved sorrow. As yet only a single climber had reached this peak of thought, and for long none pressed after him, but men had heard that the peak was there. In this epoch the twin truths were attained that society has a duty to every individual or people, however mean, and that in turn every individual and people, however mean, has a duty to society. So the doctrine of responsibility was complete.

Section E.—A Halting Conclusion

Theocracy by Accommodation

The little bands of Israel's returning exiles crossed the same Syrian Desert as Abraham, but the centuries between had brought their differences. The experiment was now made, not by a family but a race, not in easy isolation but in the mid current of the world's history, not by a single person who owned his companions but by a multitude of equal persons, not in unreasoning obedience to a particular command of a tribal God but as an attempt to practise the wide Righteousness that was His character, not with the inevitable success of an ideal past but with the mingled success and failure of the actual world. Yet, all these differences notwithstanding, Israel was still set on her ancient quest—to do the will of the Lord. Of the other nations known to her, all had abandoned the practical attempt to build society on faith. Israel, persisting alone in the common creed of the ancients that God is the active head of society, enlarged it in the era of world-empires to make Jehovah the master of the world. Always in theory a theocracy, she never practised the theory more thoroughly than now.

Yet in many ways the Hebrew doctrine that the world

is the kingdom of the righteous God, seemed untrue. Even in the palmy days of Ezra and Nehemiah Righteousness did not altogether obtain within Israel itself; at other times it did not so much as get the better of evil in that narrow sphere; without its bounds the world was always altogether under alien sway and the righteous Israelite a despised vagrant. Against this practical contradiction of her theory Israel maintained her faith by hope. She held that the dominance and even the continuance of evil was only a temporary episode and that it would in the end give way to the reign of Righteousness.[1] To meet the puzzles of the meanwhile she used the principle of Accommodation. For instance, while the older teaching that exile was Jehovah's tool for the punishment and purification of His people, found avowal still,[2] a single thinker added the greater doctrine that Israel's unique suffering was for the benediction of the world.[3] So too, while the old idea, elaborated by Isaiah for Assyria,[4] that Jehovah might admit or even plan the dominance of an alien Empire for the chastisement of His people, was applied to Babylon's rule,[5] this notion now won wider scope, for the teaching of "Daniel,"—that all the vicissitudes of all history are the toilsome prelude of the Kingdom of God,[6] —"universalised" it. Accommodation appears also in the temporary admission of the doctrine that religion is obedience to law. Again, many instances occur of the old opinion that war is admissible in a world whose ideal is peace if it be a means to the Righteousness that at once includes and transcends peace.[7] Accommodation in short

[1] See pp. 183 ff.

[2] "I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried: they shall call on My name, and I will hear them; I will say, It is My people; and they shall say, The Lord is My God" (Zech. xiii. 9). *Cf.* Is. xlii. 23-25, xlviii. 10; Ps. cvi. 40 ff.; Zech. i. 6; Joel i. and ii.

[3] See pp. 215 ff.

[4] See pp. 166 f. *Cf.* Jer. l. 23, li. 20 ff.

[5] Is. xiii. and xiv.; Jer. l. and li.; here, however, Babylon is no longer Jehovah's tool but his foe. *Cf.* Is. xlix. 26, xxvii. 1; Zech. i. 20 f.

[6] See pp. 193 f., 205 f. *Cf.* especially Dan. ii. 37 ff., ix. 24 ff.

[7] See pp. 152, 165 f. *Cf.* Is. xlv. 1-7, xlvi. 11, liv. 16 f., lxiii. 1-6, xxiv. 1-20, xxvi. 9; Jer. li. 10 f.; Ps. lxviii. 21 ff., cxliv. 1 f., cxlix.; Obad. 10 ff.; Zech. vi. 1-8, ix. 1-8, 14, xiv.; Hab. iii.

pervaded the time's thought. Only so can the belief be maintained in imperfect epochs that God rules society.

The Worth of the Common Man

The great discovery of Hebrew thought in its last Old Testament era was the worth of the ordinary man. In other but less exact words, it "discovered the individual." While there had been earlier anticipations of the doctrine, they were imperfect anticipations. Now first there was declared the worth of every single being, whether man or woman, that God had been pleased to make in His own image.

The discovery was the outcome of history. The returning exiles were a company of equals and they developed no aristocracy. The rank of Ezra, for instance, was of merit and not of birth; the same is really true of Nehemiah, though in name he ruled his brethren as Persian deputy. Again, while for a moment Zerubbabel represented the ancient royal line, with him it sank into obscurity. Thereafter, at least until the Maccabees, the Jews—apart from the priestly caste's ritual privilege—knew no distinction of persons. A Governor was set over them of course, but he was an alien. They formed a kind of religious democracy. The age was apt for the discovery of the rights and duties of the ordinary man. Its doctrine of his likeness to God gave his rights a characteristic and universal expression. Its assertion of his duties had an equal sweep—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The doctrines of individualism and responsibility evolved together.

A new Element in Righteousness

It was here that the idea of Righteousness enlarged. While the Jews for the most part busied themselves rather with the application to life of the old four notions of justice, truth, mercy, peace, than with the further elabora-

tion of the general concept itself, they yet began to admit one other virtue to a place beside them. This was humility. Already in the days of the Kings meekness of temper had begun to appear as the proper way of peace,[1] but after the Monarchy's fall the idea gained a new prominence. The Jew's opportunities of humility were now many, of *hauteur* few. So meekness won further emphasis—"Thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones,"[2] "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy king cometh unto thee: He is righteous and having salvation; lowly and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass,"[3] "Though the Lord be high, yet hath He respect unto the lowly: But the haughty He knoweth from afar,"[4] "[Nebuchadnezzar] spake and said, Is not this great Babylon, which I have built? . . . The same hour . . . he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen."[5] The quality was as yet rather religious than social, and its content was as yet obscure, but it was big with meaning for the Christian doctrine of society.[6] Of this one great passage was specially prophetic,—"He was oppressed, yet He humbled Himself and opened not His mouth, as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb; yea, He opened not His mouth. . . . He bare the sin of many."[7] One day the ideal Man was to perfect Righteousness through meekness.

Righteousness by Rule

In this period, as in others, the distinctive defect lay near the principal achievement. The Monarchic Prophets had spent their wrath upon the kings and nobles, only

[1] See pp. 153 f.
[2] Is. lvii. 15.
[3] Zech. ix. 9.
[4] Ps. cxxxviii. 6.
[5] Dan. iv. 30, 33; *cf.* Is. xlv. 9, lxvi. 2; Ps. xix. 13, lxxxvi. 14, cxix. 85-88, 121 f., cxxiii.; 2 Chron. vii. 14, xii. 6 f., xxxiv. 27; Dan. v. 22 f., xi. 37, etc.
[6] See pp. 277 ff.
[7] Is. liii. 7, 12.

reprobating the people in a secondary and auxiliary way—in other words, they had assumed that a bad government made a bad people, and that a good government would make a good one. But as the great Prophet of the Exile, Deutero-Isaiah, appealed principally to the ordinary Israelite, his presuppositions were as democratic as his predecessors' had been aristocratic. The Return vindicated him, for the united loyalty of inconsiderable men won Zerrubbabel and Nehemiah's success. But a corresponding problem was sure soon to arise—if the ordinary man be of worth, then his defection counts too; an age that acknowledges his independence, must also seek a way to secure his faithfulness; as society's action no longer carries his, it must seek in some new way to bind him to it. There is only one true way—that which in older societies was done "instinctively" must now be done willingly and consciously; every member must "drink of" the society's one spirit. This truth is not without witness in the literature of the time,[1] and earlier it had received clear enunciation in Jeremiah's great oracle of the New Covenant, while even Ezekiel had echoed it,[2] but its *practice* awaited the New Testament epoch. Meanwhile the current method with a rebel was a kind of coercion. During part of the period the little Jewish community was perhaps permitted to enforce upon its members its own peculiar law, but, when physical or secular coercion was impossible, Israel knew how to inflict a religious and social penalty. Judaism, finding in law a definition of a true Israelite, laid this dilemma before each individual—This do or go. Not now able, as in former days, to assert against a rebel the tyranny of a monarch, it substituted the tyranny of a Church. It was no accident that now first the Jews formed an inspired book as a canon of conduct. The Torah was an account of the way of life required of everyone who would be reckoned an Israelite. The national bond was no more merely one of race—individualism rightly insisting on something more—

[1] *e.g.* Zech. iv. 6, xii. 10; Joel ii. 28 f; *cf.* Lev. xxvi. 41; Ezra i. 5.
[2] See pp. 127, 182.

but the added bond was rather uniformity of conduct than community of spirit. It is true that in a general way these go together, true even that they cannot be altogether separated, but much depends on which be emphasised. After Ezra Judaism laid the emphasis more and more awry, and made the secondary primary. A scholar of insight has singled out Moses, Samuel, and Ezra as the three "Founders of Israel"; they stand significantly at the beginnings of the three great historic periods of Hebrew social theory; with the last of them, Ezra, law is for ever associated. The era of religion by pattern, of Righteousness by rule, had come.

It is important to note the exact point of failure in this idea. It may be defined as the misuse of the external. For law contrasts with spirit just in being by nature an altogether external thing. It cannot command the mind but at most secures an outward obedience. This is not to say, however, that law has no proper place in human life. It is not the end, but it is one of the most useful means. The external may be disciplinary—it may train the inward disposition. When law is so used, it is rightly named "Torah" or "Teaching," and as such it long served Israel well.[1] But at length the Jew mistook the means for the end. Faced with the problem of the imperfect individual, he declared, not that law would train him for a perfection that surpassed it, but that it was itself perfection, and that, if a man kept its precepts, his place was sure in the perfect society. This was really to dispossess spirit of its leadership in man, and to open the way to the hyprocrisies of Pharisaism at its worst. In the interval between Daniel and the Baptist, Hebrew thought set law in the seat of perfection.

This evil way is not taken within the Bible, for even in its age of failure Israel's religious genius set right limits to its Canon. Yet there are Biblical Books—as Ezekiel,[2] Ezra, Leviticus—that left the wrong path open. Again, if the Jew be coerced, shall not the Gentile? The most popular Book of all was Daniel, which, though it did

[1] *Cf.* p. 197. [2] See p. 182.

not itself find the climax of history in the Messiah's universal tyranny,[1] yet left the way open to that opinion—a way that later "Messianism" eagerly took. Zealotry and Pharisaism unite in an external definition of the Kingdom of God.

If the present study were a record of fact and not of theory, the story of Hebrew social movement during the interval that separates the two Testaments would need discussion, but it added nothing essential to the Old Testament doctrine of society. Its chief use is contrast. The Gospel gains an added brightness because it is set against the Pharisee and the Zealot. The mistake of these centuries may be put in one word—the Jew was false now to his own distinctive postulate. To make the law and ritual of the past the perfect expression of God's will, while expecting "sometime" His triumph over the world, was to relegate Him to the past and the future and to deny His activity in the present. It was no accident that the line of Israelite Prophets, men conscious of the immediate influence of God, ceased at this time, nor that the last of them needed to proclaim that worship would not be tedious if it were real.[2] The "average" Jew did not of course deny the existence or even the sovereignty of God, and the best Jews enjoyed a true personal fellowship with Jehovah, but, except for a brief interval in the days of the Maccabees, they thought of Him as waiting rather than as active. It was an easy error in that age—but it was error. Even the most vigorous Apocalyptists wrote, not of what God was doing, but of what He was going to do. The same mistake found another expression in the interpolation of an "Angel" or a "Messiah" between Him and His world. Israel's proper theory of society lay, like a seed on a shelf, awaiting a resurrection. The Jew was right in asserting that the coming Kingdom of God would be at once universal and individual, but

[1] See p. 205.

[2] Mal. i. 13. Malachi's characteristic literary device—Jehovah's challenge and the people's retort (i. 2, 6, ii. 17, iii. 7 f., 13)—is itself a witness against formalism.

he was wrong in basing its universalism on force and its individualism on law. Nothing external can be the final bond of perfect men, for perfect men are free. Their obedience must be utterly their choice.[1]

[1] *Cf.* pp. 228 ff.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW TESTAMENT: THE FINAL IDEAL

Winter and Spring.—The Christian Man.—The Perfect Society.—The Harmony of the Individual and Society.—The Christian Social Temper.—Bliss.—The Fatherhood of God.

Section A.—Winter and Spring

A Second Great Gap

Between the Testaments the Biblical history of Israel is broken as completely as after the death of Jacob; a second "Great Gap" occurs in the records. It marks the winter of Israel. The last books of the Old Testament differ from the New as Autumn from Spring. Christianity was more than the continuation of Judaism. It was new and nobler life.

The comparison of the interval between the Testaments with the other "Great Gap" in Israelite history is worth pursuing a little further. Between Jacob and Moses there yawned the gulf that severs the ideal from the real.[1] Never since the twilight days of the Patriarchs had it been possible to unite the two, never had any man or society even pretended to "realise" the perfect. The New Testament's distinction is that it describes this "realisation." This is its new fact. Its subjects are the Son of Man and the Kingdom of God. Christianity teaches that the first was and is perfect, and that the second will be. Nor is this the whole truth. The Gospels treat the Kingdom as at once future and present. This will fall for notice later,[2] but the root fact is that in the thought of the first Christians the perfect man and the

[1] See pp 24 f

[2] See pp. 264 f.

perfect society began together. Where the King is, there in essence is the Kingdom. In Jesus the ideal is here.

The Judaistic Background

So the Church rightly treats the New Testament as a distinct book from the Old. Yet there is also a living connexion between them. To-day much attention is being given to the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic literature of the Jews, but, while its study aids greatly in the understanding of the historical environment of the Christian origins, this is all, or nearly all, its use. The purpose of some of its students has been to show that Christianity was its natural sequel. They supposed that if they studied the soil, they would be able to account for the flower. But the truth is that almost everything essential in Christianity contrasts rather than agrees with the Judaism current in Jesus' day. Even if He were as much an "Apocalyptist" in the form of His teaching as some assert, still not the Apocalyptic form but the non-Apocalyptic substance has made Him dominant in history. For the New Testament contemporary Judaism is "the enemy." Against it not only Paul but Jesus was protestant. To revert to an earlier figure, the roots of Christianity went down through this soil to the Old Testament.

The various ways in which early Christian social theory contrasted with current Jewish thought will appear once and again below, but the relation of the principles of the chief Jewish schools of Jesus' day to the social ideal of the Old Testament should here be briefly shown, even at the risk of some slight repetition.[1] It is usual to name three leading sects—the Essenes, the Sadducees, the Pharisees. Of these the first have left no marks in the New Testament and have therefore no place in the discussion of Biblical theory. The Sadducees too are here unimportant. From beginning to end Jesus' movement stood in sharp antagonism to their creed. They believed in the *status quo*, and had really abandoned

[1] *Cf.* pp. 223 ff.

the Hope of Israel. They were Deistic without knowing it. Three phrases of Paul describe their true, though not their nominal, position—"Having no hope and without God in the world."

Not the Sadducee, however, but the Pharisee was the popular paragon of Jesus' day. A perfect Pharisee was, for current thought, a perfect man, and a perfect Pharisee was one who completely kept the Old Testament law. It has often been shown that this easily led to the merely external practice of religion, and Jesus' own invective proves that it often issued in hypocrisy, ostentation, and pride, but it is not so often recognised that, even if these qualities were absent—as they undoubtedly were in such Pharisees as Saul of Tarsus—Pharisaism was still inevitably a failure. A modern writer on Judaism has defined the specifically Jewish idea of religion in the phrase "Religion as Law."[1] This is a contradiction in terms. Law may be at some stages a great aid to the true kind of life, but it is not life; religion on the other hand is a kind of life—according to the Bible it is *the* kind. The error of the Pharisee was the error of stagnation—he was "already perfect." He treated the Old Testament as a complete Bible and its law as God's last word. At his best he mistook the bud of revelation for its flower. Of course the Pharisee, like other devotees of half truths, was often better than his creed; of course, spite his theory, he was sometimes truly religious; but it is the creed that is here in question. Every paragraph in this chapter is but a bit of the exposition of Jesus' saying, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."[2]

Yet, though a perfect Pharisee was the ideal of Jesus' contemporaries for the *individual*, their *social* ideal did not root in Pharisaism. This is sometimes defined by the term "Messianism." It is possible to resent the name

[1] Israel Abraham's "Judaism," ch. ii. *Cf.* Travers Herford's "Pharisaism," *passim.*

[2] Matt. v. 20.

on the ground that Christianity also is Messianic. If a quite distinctive name were sought, it might be found in "Zealotry," for the "Zealots" practised what their brother Israelites more passively and vaguely believed. The Apocalyptic books were the vehicle of the doctrine. Their popularity shows that they really embodied the aspiration of the Jews, bizarre though their survivors seem to-day. The popular imagination fed on them then as it now does on novels! The reason is historic. Among all the peoples of the Roman Empire the Jew alone retained his full nationality, Israel alone never submitted. But how could a tiny people, whose land was no bigger than Wales, hope to stand against and even prevail over an Empire that most men thought omnipotent and eternal? There was but one way—by the help of God. So far the Jews were right, but some of their writers—the writers who created or reflected the popular opinion of Jesus' day—went on to define the way of the Divine help. They imagined that God must meet Rome with Rome's own weapon of force, and, as there was clearly no earthly power equal to the enterprise, they postulated a supramundane. They expected conquest by cataclasm, or, in their own terms, kingdom by "Messiah." This "Messiah" was usually neither altogether human nor altogether Divine, but an intermediate being. The Apocalyptists thought his task impossible to a man, yet unsuited to God, for they could not imagine that God "go on the war-path." Broadly speaking, they hoped for a future world whose one despot should be Israelite, and they postulated the kind of "Messiah" that this hope required. A Zealot could extract a theory of "empire by force" from the Old Testament by emphasising some of its parts and neglecting others.[1] The Christian ideal of society, however, developed in the main not in agreement with the Zealot's, but in contrast with it. However confidently the Christians of the first or of any subsequent age may have believed that the "end of the world" was near, and that it would come in an Apocalyptic way, Christianity,

[1] *Cf.* pp. 266 f.

unlike the Judaism of the First Century, never attempted to practise an Apocalypse. Again, while it is difficult to fix the relation of the Apocalyptic element in early Christian thought to its other parts, it has never long been dominant. Paul corrected the Thessalonians when they made it so. A comet is more startling than the stars, but it is they that abide.[1]

It will be noticed that not only Sadduceeism, but Pharisaism and "Zealotry" as well, were really Deistic. As theories they none of them logically required a spiritually active God. Sadducean diplomacy, Pharisaic legalism, the Zealots' "Messianism," each in its own way, set the Lord at a distance. So the Jews denied unawares their own Old Testament, for its characteristic postulate is the direct activity of God among men.[2] Spite themselves, they "destroyed the Temple."

This subtle Deism had a peculiar sociological result. So long as Jehovah was the active, living God, making daily the claims of His character alike upon every Israelite and all Israel, there could be no gulf between the doctrines of the individual and society. On the contrary, they had developed together.[3] But now the link broke and agreement ended. There was no logical connexion between the Pharisaic notion of a perfect man and the Zealot's idea of the "Messianic" society. The former hardly needed a complementary doctrine of society, for the Pharisee, in the practice of life as distinct from the learning of its rules, was as self-sufficient as the Stoic. "Zealotry," on the other hand, requiring that a Jew and a Gentile as such have quite different places in the Kingdom of God, did not admit of a consistent view of the individual. Christianity, unlike Judaism, still built on the postulate of the immediate activity of God, and so maintained the old Hebrew unity in social doctrine.

[1] For the social theory of the Christian Apocalypse see Additional Note 10.

[2] *Cf.* Wheeler Robinson, "Christian Doctrine of Man," p. 74, and Platt, "Immanence and Christian Thought," p. 448 (footnote)

[3] See the preceding four chapters, *passim.*

The New Fact

The New Testament has no set description of social theory, or indeed of any other kind of theory, for it is not primarily theory. Of its Books some conform to types found elsewhere in literature, others are of an unprecedented kind, yet they have none the less a unity, for they all illustrate the same historic event. The event involved a theory, but it was primarily fact. As already hinted, to call this "the Fact of Christ" is inadequate, for the subject of the New Testament is quite as much the society that He founded as Himself. The fact included both an individual and a society. It is true that in the Gospels the stress is laid upon the perfect individual, and that the rest of the New Testament is preoccupied with the society, yet the Gospels' constant teaching is that the whole purpose of Jesus' life was the founding of the society, while the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, on the other hand, treat the society as "the body of Christ"—as something that without Him would be but a corpse. With Him a new fact came into being, a fact decisive both for the individual and society.

A certain set of words significant for social theory occur in close conjunction in all parts of the New Testament. These words are "Father," "Jesus," "Christ," "Kingdom," "Spirit," "Righteousness," "love," "believe" and "faith,"[1] "life." With them should be put the three synonyms, "disciples," "brethren," "saints." While one writer emphasises one term and a second writer another, and while each looks at the things denoted from his own point of view, all the terms cling inseparably together. Yet how few of them have any logical relation to each other! Their constant union, alike in the Synoptic Gospels, in the Acts of the Apostles, in the different groups of Epistles, in the Apocalypse, in the Johannine writings, is the result of the nature of the fact that forms these books' common subject. How constant their con-

[1] It is a capital misfortune that English cannot translate πιστεύειν and πίστις by words of the same root.

nexion is can only be understood if they be hunted through the New Testament by the help of a Concordance.[1] Together they define Christianity.

A word may be added here about one of these terms, Righteousness. It was chosen in the Third Chapter as the best description of the social theory of the greatest of Old Testament epochs, the Monarchy. It may seem at first that it is relegated to a secondary place below. This however is not really so. It is true that no one Section is devoted to its discussion, but this is because it is the subject of every Section. The whole theory taken together—and its unity is peculiarly close and articulate—is just an account of what Jesus and the Apostles meant by Righteousness. Under the Hebrew kings the content of the idea was almost absorbed in four qualities—justice, truth, mercy, peace. The succeeding period made one considerable addition to these, and began to elucidate some other characteristics obscure before,[2] but the New Testament both deepened the meaning of the four primary qualities,[3] and added to them indefinitely. For the final Righteousness of the perfect man must be as many-sided as human nature, and this, as will be seen,[4] defies complete definition. Jesus Christ Himself is the New Testament definition of Righteousness. To those who believe Him to be Divine this will at once suggest another of its Old Testament distinctions—that it could be used at once of God and of man. The discussion of the term's theological meaning does not of course belong to the present subject, but only that of its social significance.[5] This Chapter is called "the Final Ideal," but it might just as well have been called "Righteousness." In the New Testament the "Kingdom of God" is "His righteousness."[6]

[1] The word "Kingdom" is rare in the Johannine books, but not the idea. The term occurs in John iii. 3, 5, xviii. 36; and the cognate "king" in John i. 49, xii. 13, xix. 3-22; while the word "Christ," which requires the idea of Kingdom, occurs oftener in the Fourth than in any other Gospel. *Cf.* however, p. 256.

[2] See pp. 195 f., 222 f.

[3] See Additional Note 9.

[4] See pp. 239, 241.

[5] See p. 242.

[6] Matt. vi. 33.

This Chapter and the Next

The New Testament describes together two different things—the Christian ideal and the historical beginning of Christianity. Though closely connected, they are distinguishable in thought, and it is rarely difficult to say to which of them any particular social phenomenon referred to in the documents belongs. While it is not desirable to disconnect the two absolutely, in this Chapter the Christian ideal is the primary subject, in the next the actual social institutions of New Testament times.

Section B.—The Christian Man

The Individual in the New Testament

The Christian ideal will admit at last only two units of society, the individual and mankind. Many more are temporarily lawful by the principle of Accommodation, as has been already seen for the Old Testament and will appear below for the New,[1] but the "Kingdom of God" recognises as final only the single man and the race. One of the marks of Jesus is that He gave Himself wholly to two tasks—the living of the life of perfect man and the inauguration of the universal society. The New Testament's ideal for the individual is considered in this Section, its ideal society in the next.

The New Testament always takes men one by one. Here, though it completed an Old Testament evolution,[2] it contradicted much in contemporary thought. Popular "Messianic" expectation treated the "Kingdom of God" as a possession proper to the nation of Israel,[3] but the "first of parables"[4] taught that each hearer's own character decided whether he was to have a place in it or not. So, when in the Feeding of the Five Thousand Jesus wrought that rare thing, a miracle for a multitude,

[1] See Chap. iii. Sect. D. and Chap. vi. Sect. A.
[2] See pp. 11 ff., 78 ff., 111 ff., 197 ff.
[3] Occasionally a purified Israel, as in the Psalms of Solomon.
[4] Mark iv. 2 ff.

He at once took great pains to avoid allegiance *en masse*.[1] Here, too, lay the ground of His custom of flight from the too active interest of crowds.[2] It would have been easy for Him at any time to head the Jewish "masses" against Rome—how easy Caiaphas and his associates well knew,[3]—but He deliberately and consistently refused the *rôle* of a popular "Messiah." On the contrary, He carefully gathered His disciples one by one.[4] So far Jesus sided with Pharisaism in its semi-conscious antagonism to "Messianism."

The Apostles followed the same method in their Missionary teaching. The early Churches consisted of believers won one by one. The only exception was when families became Christian.[5] Every letter in the New Testament assumes that its readers were a company of men who had each for himself chosen to join the despised Christian sect. The Church of Christ was a group of individuals. Though this is not the whole truth about it,[6] it is still the truth.

The fact may be put in another way. In the New Testament there are references to many social units, and in parts it gives close attention to some of them—for instance, to the Church—but the only two that are ubiquitous are the individual and the "Kingdom." Every class of writings, every kind of writer, gives these a place. Only the first is here in question. A set of "proof passages" can at best only suggest how pervasive of New Testament thought individualism is, but it would be impossible to collect a series of texts like the following about any other social unit except the "Kingdom"—"Who hath ears to hear, let him hear";[7] "Every one shall be salted with fire";[8] "It is as when a man, sojourning in another country, having left his house, and given authority to his servants, to each one his work";[9] "Every one that cometh unto Me, and heareth My words, I will show you to whom he is like;"[10] "No one knoweth who . . .

[1] *Cf.* John vi. [2] *e.g.* Mark i. 38, iv. 35, v. 43, vi. 45, vii. 24.
[3] John xi. 48 ff.
[4] *e.g.* Mark i. 16 ff., ii. 14; John i. 35-51; *cf.* Luke ix. 57 ff.
[5] See Chap. vi. Sect. D. [6] See Chap. v Sect. C; Chap. vi. Sect. E.
[7] Mark iv. 9. [8] Mark ix. 49. [9] Mark xiii. 34. [10] Luke vi. 47.

the Father is, save the Son and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him";[1] "For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened";[2] "Every one who shall confess Me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before the angels of God";[3] "I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth";[4] "There shall be two women grinding together; the one shall be taken and the other shall be left";[5] "Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise";[6] "See that ye despise not one of these little ones. . . . It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish";[7] "But when the king came in to behold the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding garment";[8] "And it shall be, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved";[9] "For each man shall bear his own burden";[10] "Each man's work shall be made manifest";[11] "To each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal";[12] "Commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God";[13] "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?";[14] "So then each one of us shall give account of himself to God";[15] "But unto each one of us was the grace given according to the measure of the gift of Christ";[16] "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day";[17] "We desire that each one of you may show the same diligence unto the fulness of hope even to the end";[18]

[1] Luke x. 22. [2] Luke xi. 10. [3] Luke xii. 8.
[4] Luke xv. 10. [5] Luke xvii. 35.
[6] Luke xxiii. 43. [7] Matt. xviii. 10, 14.
[8] Matt. xxii. 11. [9] Acts ii. 21.
[10] Gal. vi. 5,—even the complementary text, "Bear ye one another's burdens," is an appeal to the individual.
[11] 1 Cor. iii. 13. [12] 1 Cor. xii. 7.
[13] 2 Cor. iv. 2. [14] Rom. vii. 24.
[15] Rom. xiv. 12. [16] Eph. iv. 7.
[17] 2 Tim. iv. 7 f. [18] Heb. vi. 11.

"Who art thou that judgest thy neighbour?";[1] "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches";[2] "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear My voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him and he with Me";[3] "He that will, let him take the water of life freely";[4] "There was the true light, even the light which lighteth every man, coming into the world";[5] "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life";[6] "If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God";[7] "If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink."[8] The series, of course, could easily be extended, but the passages quoted are characteristic of all parts of the New Testament and suffice to show that the liberty and responsibility of the individual were a uniform postulate of early Christian thought. Without this the Gospel would have no meaning at all. The New Testament everywhere assumes that each man's choice is decisive of his own fate. Not the nation, nor the caste, nor even the Church or the family, is the basis of the ultimate Christian society, but the single man.

The Ideal Individual: (1) *the Historic Jesus*

The New Testament, therefore, rightly begins with an account of its ideal for the individual. This account, however, is not a definition but a portrait, the portrait of a historic person, who called Himself significantly the "Son of Man." The discussion of the term's meaning has lasted long and still proceeds, but here it is taken to connote two closely connected things—that Jesus of Nazareth was the typical Man, and that He is therefore the natural head of a society whose members seek to be

[1] Jas. iv. 12.
[2] Rev. ii. 7.
[3] Rev. iii. 20.
[4] Rev. xxii. 17.
[5] John i. 9.
[6] John iii. 16.
[7] John vii. 17.
[8] John vii. 37.

perfect.[1] The proof that Christianity takes Jesus for the ideal Man need not be detailed, for it is the whole New Testament. The method, however, of defining an ideal by a fact, the perfect Man by a historical person, draws with it certain consequences.

It means that the ideal is practicable, for it has been practised. Herein the Christian ideal differs from the dreams both of the philosopher and common folk. The former frankly abandons fact in order to picture the perfect, while the latter relegate their ideal either to the dim past or the dim future—with a tacit condemnation and despair of the present. Christianity urges on everyone the historic example of an actual man. It has the Hebrew genius for the practical.

This method also admits an adequate ideal. No principle or set of principles, however versatile, can be as manifold as life. This is true even of the lowliest kinds of life, but much more of the noblest.[2] The only adequate account of any type of life is that life itself. The complete definition of the ideal life, therefore, can only be the actual. Without the historic Jesus, Christianity could at best be only a phase in human history; its ideal could not be final.

The obvious objection to the definition of the ideal by the actual is that, however perfect the chosen individual may be, he must still be a particular man, and that the particular cannot be universal. A historic person must belong to a particular race, to a particular time, to a particular family, to a particular class of society, and these circumstances, it will be said, must of course affect his character. How could an Oriental, for instance, ever become the type of the Western world? Or a Jew the ideal of a Russian? Or a peasant of a merchant? Or a man of the First Century of the children of the Twentieth?

[1] Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," "Son of Man" (Driver). The discussion about the phrase "Son of Man" has been, not so much about the term's meaning in the Gospels, as in the Aramaic that Jesus probably spoke. Whether it suffered a change of meaning in its passage into Greek, is not *for the present subject* important, for the Greek New Testament is the source of Christian sociology, and only the meaning given above satisfies the term's use there.

[2] Of course it does not invalidate principle. See pp. 126 f., 154 f., 246.

A single historical person might perhaps be perfect in his particular lot, but it seems impossible that he be the pattern for universal man.

History disproves the argument. The unique quality of Jesus, the character that gives Him the right to the title "Son of Man," precisely is that He is universal. It is true that He was a Jew, of the First Century, of the Roman Empire, of the artisan class, of a village called Nazareth, but with Him none of these things were more than what the old logicians called "accidents." When the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews compared Him to Melchizedek "without father, without mother, without genealogy," he put in the phrase of the time the truth that Jesus had no limitations as have other men. An Oriental has in fact become the pattern of the Western world, a Jew of the Russian,[1] a carpenter of kings, a man of one age of the men of many ages. The claim of the Church is that the Nazarene's dominion will spread still further, until every man of every race, language, family, caste, clime, acknowledges Jesus Christ as the ideal after whose life he ought to frame his own. The history of nineteen centuries at least saves this claim from folly. Even the enemy of Christianity must admit that it may be so. With a true instinct the Church has kept "Palm Sunday" as a festival of joy. At first sight its shouts had better been omitted, for where were the acclaiming thousands of Olivet five days later when Calvary befell? But the deep meaning of "Palm Sunday" was that the heart of man answers to the ideal Man. On that day "deep called unto deep"; mankind recognised its Head. Missionaries witness that the wonder is repeated wherever Jesus is preached. In every nation men recognise the Man. Later followers of the pageant of Jesus have often, like the first, been false to their ideal, but He remains their ideal; nation by nation mankind is coming to acclaim Him the Man of men; His particular race, tongue, calling, class, do not count; in Him the

[1] Once at a Russian noblewoman's table the talk fell on the Jews; at length an English lady present said in their defence, "At least our Lord was a Jew"; "Indeed no," was the indignant answer, "He was a Russian!"

particular merges in the universal; Jesus is in the old true sense the "common" Man.

Just because history transcends theory, it is impossible to reduce this definition of perfection by a historic person to theoretic statement. If this age could define Jesus, He would therefore certainly be inadequate to future ages. But attempts to reduce Christ to a formula always fail. When any seek the Christian ideal they must ever be referred to the story and words of our Lord. The story *and words*—for one of the sure marks of His perfection is the fact that the two explain and complete each other. There are left the records only of bits of His life, and but few of His words can be taken literally, yet together they portray the perfect Man. The Gospel is its own only definition. Primarily Christianity's new fact is the "Son of Man" and its ambition that "we all attain . . . unto a complete man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."[1]

The Ideal Individual: (2) the Likeness of God

Yet there is throughout the New Testament, often explicit, always implicit, another account of every man's perfection. Its definition is the likeness of God. To trace this it is best to begin with the later Books. "He hath granted unto us His precious and exceeding great promises; that through these ye may become partakers of the divine nature";[2] "Like as He which called you is holy, be ye yourselves also holy in all manner of living; because it is written, Ye shall be holy; for I am holy";[3] "[With the tongue] curse we men, which are made after the likeness of God";[4] "Be ye therefore imitators of God, as beloved children;"[5] "[We] have put on the new man, which is being renewed unto knowledge after the image of Him that created Him."[6] There is in some of these texts a theoretic flavour, as of a conclusion reached by argument; what grounds had warranted the conclusion?

[1] Eph. iv. 13. [2] 2 Peter i. 4. [3] 1 Peter i. 15 f.
[4] James iii. 9. [5] Eph. v. 1. [6] Col. iii. 10.

The Old Testament had taught that man is created in the image of God and that Righteousness is proper to both.[1] This doctrine reached its climax when Paul used of Christianity the phrase "the righteousness of God."[2] This ascription, however, belongs rather to Paul's theology than his sociology, and a scrutiny of the context of some of the passages quoted shows that the New Testament reached the idea chiefly in another way. In it man's likeness to God springs from the relation of father and child. The passage quoted from the Epistle to the Ephesians, for instance, bases the imitation of God on this relation—"As beloved children." So the quotation from First Peter proceeds "And if ye call on Him as Father." Several passages in the Gospels now suggest themselves—"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God";[3] "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in heaven";[4] "Ye therefore shall be perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect";[5] "Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful";[6] "And whensoever ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have ought against any one; that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses."[7] The origin and meaning of the theological doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood does not belong here,[8] but it is allowed that, while in the Old Testament fatherhood is only a secondary attribute of God, in the New it is primary, and that the predominant notion in the Old Testament—that Jehovah was the Father of the Hebrew race—gives way in the New to the idea that He is each Christian's own Father. Both the nature of the relation and the usage of the New Testament require that there follows the likeness of the two. A son is like his father.

[1] See pp. 195 ff.

[2] *e.g.* 2 Cor. v. 21, and see Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," ii. pp. 210 f. (Sanday).

[3] Matt. v. 9.

[4] Matt. v. 45 f.

[5] Matt. v. 48.

[6] Luke vi. 36.

[7] Mark xi. 25. Add Gal. iii. 26; Phil. ii. 15; Eph. i. 5; Heb. ii. 10 f.; John i. 11; 1 John iii. 1 f., etc.

[8] *Cf.* Chap. v. Sect. G.

The first of the two great commandments of love explains the method of this likeness. Men only perfectly attain what they wholly love. As none can be a perfect artist who does not love beauty, none a great philosopher except he love truth, so none can become like God except he love Him utterly. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and mind and soul and strength"—here is the one method for the attainment of the Christian ideal, for a man's character, like his father's at first in an embryonic way, only grows entirely like it if he really love him. There is no other way to be like God.

If now it be asked in what the likeness of God consists, or in what way the character of the great Father will show itself in His children, the connexion appears between the two definitions of a man's perfection so far named. For three things are clear—that no adequate account can be given of God's character, that man's likeness to God cannot extend to the whole of the Divine nature, and that here again the impossibility emerges of framing a theoretic definition sufficient for life. The New Testament's most frequent term for the Divine character is still Righteousness, but no attempt is made to delimit it. For instance, the nearest approximation in the New Testament to an account of Righteousness, the Sermon on the Mount, stubbornly refuses to be reduced to system. It is a description, not of the science of life, but of its proper temper. The only account of the likeness of God as pattern for man in the New Testament is the portrait of Christ. The later Books again express this in theoretic terms—"The effulgence of His glory, and the very image of His substance";[1] "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation";[2] In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God";[3] "The only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him."[4] But, earlier than the use of these philosophic phrases, the Christian consciousness had made a significant attempt to express the same thought.

[1] Heb. i. 3.
[2] Col. i. 15.
[3] John i. 1.
[4] John i. 18.

While Jesus' favourite name for Himself was "Son of Man," His disciples discovered Him to be the "Son of God." Whatever else this name meant, at least they saw that He was like His Father. Similarly it is Jesus' postulate throughout all the controversies of John's Gospel that His adversaries ought to have seen for themselves that He was the "Son," the revelation of God—that they ought to have seen God in Him. If there be anything at all in the discourses of this Gospel that belonged to Jesus' own thought, it must include such universal pre-suppositions as this. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father"—here is the natural complement of the Synoptic use of "Son of God."[1] At the least the Church by the end of the First Century had come to think thus of Jesus, and this creed has made Christianity. For it Jesus is at once the ideal Man and the image of God. The sonship of God, likeness to Jesus, Righteousness—these three are but different names for one thing.

The Ideal Individual: (3) "*Be Filled with the Spirit*"

There is, however, yet another way of putting the New Testament theory of a true man's Righteousness—a way as pervasive of the records as the two already named. When at Jesus' baptism "there came a voice from heaven saying, Thou art My beloved Son, in Thee I am well pleased,"[2] there descended also "the Spirit" upon Him. The New Testament everywhere teaches that a true man has "the Spirit." Not long since such a theory would have been dismissed by many as mere infatuation; "Spirit" would have been paraphrased as "influence"; and under this vague term its existence would have been virtually denied. But so unscientific a procedure—albeit perpetrated in the name of science—is no longer possible. To-day's thought has ceased to be contemptuous of every-

[1] John xiv. 9. This idea underlies also such passages as Mark ii. 1-12. The connexion here noted is well brought out in 1 John iii. 1 ff.

[2] Mark i. 11.

thing but materialism, and the Bible's axiom that "Spirit," though immaterial, is yet real, meets with better treatment than a scoff. But even though this were still its plight, it would be impossible to rid the Gospel of the doctrine. The Baptist's prophecy of his greater successor was, "He shall baptise you in the Holy Spirit";[1] the hopeless sinner is he who "blasphemes against the Holy Spirit";[2] the accused Christian's encouragement is "It is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit";[3] what one Gospel calls the "good things" of the "Heavenly Father," another sums in the single gift of the "Holy Spirit";[4] Pentecost was at once the Day of the New Mankind and of the Holy Spirit;[5] the Acts of the Apostles is just the Acts of the Spirit; any who "received the Holy Spirit" had a right to be reckoned Christians,[6] and so true men; Paul connects the sonship of the believer directly with the Spirit";[7] Jesus was Himself "declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness";[8] in the greatest of Paul's chapters two definitions of the Christian ideal blend—"For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God";[9] John makes Jesus stake the future on the "other Paraclete."[10] These texts represent all schools of New Testament thought. Indeed, the New Testament is just "the book of the Spirit." It is not necessary to repeat the old proofs that in it the "Spirit of God" and the "Spirit of Christ" are one, nor to argue that he who has another's spirit and none other is sure to grow really like him. He who receives God's Spirit becomes Christ-like and God-like. This third notion of true manhood is synonymous with the other two.

The natural meaning of the term "Spirit" suggests certain great passages that describe Christianity as a particular temper in life. One of these, the Sermon on the Mount, has already been named; another is the famous pæan of love in the First Epistle to the Corinthians;[11]

[1] Mark i. 8. [2] Mark iii. 29.
[3] Mark xiii. 11. [4] Matt. vii. 11; Luke xi. 13.
[5] Acts ii. 1 ff. [6] Acts x. 47.
[7] Gal. iv. 6; *cf.* 1 Cor. xii. 7. [8] Rom. i. 4.
[9] Rom. viii. 14. [10] John xiv. 16. [11] 1 Cor. xiii.

a third is Paul's description of "the fruits of the Spirit";[1] a fourth the recollection in the Letter to the Hebrews of Jeremiah's Covenant of the Heart;[2] a fifth John's account of the new kind of man—"As many as received Him, to them gave He the right to become children of God, even to them that believe on His name, which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."[3] The adequacy of this definition to the whole of life follows. Righteousness for the Patriarch was obedience to a few particular commands of God; next the Decalogue introduced principles in simplest form; these the Prophets deepened and widened and unified; yet still the scope of man's life exceeded them. The New Testament preached the "fulfilment," or completion—and so the surpassing—of the Old. Only a temper—here is its deep discovery—only a temper as manifold as human life, as subtle as human thought, as illimitable as human progress, can match the compass of human Righteousness. Where is such a temper to be found? The New Testament does not hesitate; it makes the tremendous assertion that the Spirit of God is proper to man. Here is the simplicity of all ultimate truth. No catalogue of commandments, no retinue of principles, no abstractions of philosophy, can meet man's need. Just because he is made in God's image, he cannot be true *man* unless he be "filled with" *God's* Spirit.

The Liberty of the Christian

Each of the Testaments opens with the story of an ideal man. It was found that for Abraham it followed that he could do as he liked[4]—that the ideal individual was free. Was this so of Jesus? Did He do as He liked? In what sense is the Christian man free?

In the rich freedom of the Early Ideal the principal elements were independence, prosperity and "lawlessness."[5] The first of these, independence, however, meant

[1] Gal. v. 22 f. [2] Heb. viii. 8 ff. [3] John i. 12 f.
[4] See p. 8. [5] See pp. 5 ff.

independence of men, not of God. One of the implicit assumptions of the New Testament is that a man must be the "servant" of someone or something, that he cannot be independent, and on this postulate there rests the constant assertion that a man's proper dependence is upon God and ultimately upon Him alone. It was one of the marks of the Christian's Exemplar that He acknowledged no final authority but that of His Father.[1] So too with the Apostles.[2] A theory that demands rightness of "spirit" can of course allow no ultimate authority but God's. If every man is to answer for "every idle word," for every evil look, for every ill thought,[3] only one tribunal is equal to his judgement, the tribunal of omniscience. The Christian theory of what a man ought to be, requires that he be ultimately answerable to God and to no other.[4] Other authority is legitimate, as will appear below, but it is secondary and delegated, and, if conflict occur, the Divine authority is to predominate. Luther's representative saying, "Here stand I, I can no other," is the natural complement of the New Testament doctrine that every man answers for himself "at the judgement-seat of God."

Again, that the Christian man is the "law-less" man is the subject of some of Paul's most famous passages.[5] This does not mean, of course, that a Christian breaks law, but that he does not need to be made to keep it, and that he exceeds its poor limits. If a man have the Spirit of God, there is no need to force him to do God's will, for it is just what he wants to do. Here is the root of several great sayings about "freedom,"—"with freedom did Christ set us free;"[6] "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom";[7] "The freedom of the glory of the children of God";[8] "So speak ye, and so do, as men that are to be judged by a law of freedom";[9] "As free . . .

[1] *Cf.* John xix. 11. [2] *e.g.* Acts iv. 19.
[3] *e.g.* Matt. v. 22, 28, 44.
[4] *Cf.* Moberly, "Atonement and Personality," p. 229—"Obedience to men in fact is a mere means to an end. . . . A real effort to break the personal will is actual sacrilege."
[5] *e.g.* Gal. iv. 21 ff.; Rom. vii. [6] Gal. v. 1.
[7] 2 Cor. iii. 17. [8] Rom. viii. 21. [9] Jas. ii. 12.

but as bondservants of God";[1] "And His servants shall do Him service . . . and they shall reign for ever and ever";[2] "If therefore the Son shall make you free, ye shall be really free."[3] These texts interweave freedom with the definitions of a true man described above. He who is like Jesus, he who has a character like God's own, he who has the Spirit of God—for that man there is in the Kingdom of God no room for coercion. God's will is also his own. When perfected after that pattern, he does as he likes. It would seem that it is God's ultimate aim to create to His own joy a world of beings at once free and righteous. For this He ran the hazard that freedom would issue in sin. He could not brook an eternity of an *entourage* of slaves, but must have the fellowship of the free. Heaven is indeed a "Kingdom," but it is not a despotism, for its citizens are free. Law lapses on its own success. The chosen name for God in the New Testament is "Father." An earthly father must lay down law for his children while they are immature, but when a son is adult, he no more needs such law. "Judgement" disappears then. His father and he know now a deep agreement of spirit that coercion would violate and spoil; neither does the one now claim nor the other contradict the right of authority; the younger meets the elder's wishes in ways of love too subtle and pervasive for the clumsiness of legal codes; they are one in heart. Such but transcended is the last relation of God and man, such the "service" that is "perfect freedom." In this sense Jesus was law-less.

"*Eternal Life*"

The third element in the liberty of the Early Ideal was a wide prosperity. There is a popular hymn whose refrain is "O to be nothing, nothing." This idea is proper to such a system of thought as Buddhism, with its doctrine of the worthlessness of individual existence, but it is quite alien to Christianity. Had Jesus' last word been self-

[1] 1 Peter ii. 16. [2] Rev. xxii. 3, 5. [3] John viii. 36.

denial, He must Himself on His death have ceased to be. On the contrary He then "entered into His glory." He endured His sufferings "for the joy that was set before Him." Heaven is the delight of Christ. So throughout the New Testament it is assumed, as a natural and right thing, that a man will desire and seek his own welfare and prosperity—with the proviso that these be properly defined. It is noted elsewhere that the rule "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" bases on a justifiable love of self;[1] it is remarkable how often the idea and even the word "reward" is found in the records of the teaching of Jesus; all the Beatitudes build their promises on the axiom that a man will desire desirable things for himself. So too the giver of a "cup of cold water only" is "in no wise" to "lose his reward."[2] Jesus promised the Twelve, "Ye shall sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel";[3] what are now called the "good things of this life" are promised to those who "seek first the Kingdom of God."[4] The last phrase gives the Christian limitation. One's own prosperity is not to come first. It is a secondary good. Or rather, it is but a part of a greater whole, and the part is never to stand alone. Yet, though to seek God's wide ends is the primary aim of every true man's effort, it is still an essential though minute part of God's plan that at last every true man himself enjoy fulness of life.[5] With the Christian the "self" as a separate goal is forgotten, yet it is included in the great goal. "Whosoever shall lose his life for My sake shall find it."[6]

A term in the last quotation, "life," is the Bible's last word about prosperity. It has been seen that in the Old Testament the idea of prosperity gradually deepened. While at first it meant possessions only, it slowly came to be seen that real satisfaction is an inward thing, to which the external world is but a minister, and the word "self-

[1] See pp. 208, 282 f. [2] Mark ix. 41. [3] Matt. xix. 28.
[4] Luke xii. 30 f. [5] *Cf.* Chap. v. Sect. F.
[6] Matt. xvi. 25. Jesus' own Temptation on the Temple "pinnacle" was at heart a temptation to a spurious self-assertion or "individualism."

realisation" was found to come nearest to the idea.[1] This development, still incomplete when Christ came, reached its culmination in the New Testament doctrine of "life." While "eternal life" is a concept on which the writings of John lay special stress, the word and idea pervade the whole New Testament.[2] If it be asked what the phrase means, a complete answer is impossible, for this is not yet fully known—but it begins with the fellowship of God,[3] and it includes "every good and every perfect gift."[4] The mere term has two qualities—it lays stress not on the external possession of "goods" but on an inward fact,[5] and it includes both the present and "eternity." Though the Christian social theory for "this life" is the proper subject of this book, yet in New Testament thought the "here" cannot always be separated from the "hereafter." To those who are impatient of what is called "other-worldliness," it has to be said that a system that takes serious account of God, must of necessity, and historically does always, take serious account of immortality too. Nor need its interest in the present world decline in consequence. In Christianity, on the contrary, this enhances. For the Gospel treats man's life here as the decisive prelude, the fatal beginning, of "eternity." "Eternal life" cannot be excluded from an account of the New Testament doctrine of prosperity for it is part and parcel of its teaching. Not asceticism but enjoyment, not Crucifixion but Heaven, is Christianity's last word for every man. The "children of the bride-chamber" shall rejoice "when the bridegroom is with them."

It is true that, here and now, the Christian must go without some good things, because he and his world are both as yet imperfect. This, however, falls easily under the principle of Accommodation.[6] Besides, these things

[1] See pp. 7 ff., 34 ff., 158 f., 200 f.

[2] *e.g.* Mark viii. 36, x. 30; Luke xxi. 19; Matt. vii. 13 f.; Acts xi. 18; Gal. vi. 8; Rom. vi. 23; Phil. iv. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 8; James i. 12; Rev. xxi. 27; John iii. 16.

[3] John xvii. 3.

[4] *e.g.* 1 John iii. 2; Rom. viii. 32. *Cf.* Chap. v. Sect. F.

[5] The contrast in the New Testament between ζωή and βίος is well known.

[6] *Cf.* pp. 159 ff.

are all secondary. *The* need of man is the fellowship and enjoyment of God; by it, even if it do not yet bring other good in its train, his nature may thrive; and this belongs already to every Christian without exception. It is the one possession of which none can rob or cheat him. Prosperity, therefore, in essence is already his—as much his as a home is a child's although it have joys into which he cannot yet enter. Already possessing God, the Christian is willing, if need be, to wait for any other good.

The phrase "eternal life" has another implication. The word "eternal" is used often of individual life[1] and so requires that the individual be a final unit in society not only "on earth," but "in heaven." The idea is not applied, either explicitly or implicitly, to any other social unit except the "Kingdom." The long evolution that began when on Mount Moriah God refused to allow a man to be a tool even in His own worship, was complete when it was seen that each man's perfection is one of the eternal purposes of God—"What think ye? If a man have a hundred sheep and *one* of them be gone astray"; "It is not the will of your Father in heaven that *one* of these little ones should perish." Here is the last proof of the worth of the individual.[2] Its present significance will appear by a contrast. Hinduism has no "eternity" for the individual, and so does not value him now.[3] Why value a bubble that only bursts?

The Primary Social Relation

Some may impatiently complain that "theological dogma" has filled most of this Section. The answer shows once more how the New Testament fulfils the Old. The Patriarch was isolated from men just that he might be drawn into a right communion with God. Since those first days a multitude of other human relations had come

[1] *Cf.* p. 250, footnote 2.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 195 ff, 267.

[3] Westcott, "Social Aspects of Christianity," p. 59, says of the Indian Exhibit at South Kensington, "You will search in vain, I think, in all that multitudinous display of ornament, rich in exquisite harmonies of colour and in delicacy of patient skill, for one trace of reverence for man."

within the cognisance of Hebrew thought until its scope included the whole universe of man, but still the old condition obtained—these relations, however varied and complex, depended ever for their sanction and their regulation upon the primary religious relation.[1]

The New Testament brought this to a climax. How explicitly the Lord's Prayer teaches about God, how implicitly about man! Similarly, Jesus made the command of love to man definitely depend on that of love to God.[2] Again, His favourite name for the perfect future was not the "Commonwealth of Man" but the "Kingdom of God." Or compare the frequency of His use of the terms "Father" and "Brother!" Even the Sermon on the Mount, the passage of His teaching that most nearly treats duty to man as a thing separate, on a near scrutiny betrays that its author's preoccupation was with God. Throughout it Jesus describes not so much crime as sin, not so much kindliness as holiness; His recurrent terminology is of "your Father in Heaven," "the Kingdom of Heaven"; the purpose even of "good works" is that men may "glorify your Father which is in heaven." Underlying the whole Sermon there is the postulate that man is answerable for life to God; in every verse it refuses to be merely humanitarian. Again, how many of the Parables portray a man's relation to God, how few his relation to men! Many more instances might be given. Chief of all, the Perfect Man Himself was first and foremost a man of God. He lived on "the will of Him that sent "Him." So, once more, Jesus "fulfilled" Abraham.

It would be easy to show that the same subordination of philanthropy to religion pervades the teaching of the Apostles. For instance, in every Epistle the sociology bases on the theology. It is impossible to frame a Christian theory of society in which God is only a figure-head; He is as much a part of social organisation as man; without Him the wheel has no nave, the arch no key-stone, the body no head. It is true that Jesus recognised as none had ever done a deep and binding obligation to every man born

[1] See references under "Religion" in Index of Subjects. [2] *Cf.* p. 207.

into the world, but it is also true that this obligation had a religious ground.[1] That the ideal Man was a great individual does not mean that He held no duties to other men—on the contrary, He recognised the utter responsibility of death on their behalf—but He was responsible for this, not to them, but God. Christianity, naturally missionary, teaches that every man is every other's brother, but it bases their brotherhood upon a common Fatherhood. What relations between men Christianity reckons lawful, what useful, what ultimate, will appear in the sequel; but each derives its legitimacy, its utility, or its finality, from the Divine sanction. In the Christian system of society God's relation to *each man* is as regulative as the sun's to each planet in the solar universe.

Section C.—The Perfect Society

The Ideal Society: (1) "*The Kingdom of God*"

The New Testament, like the Old, assumes everywhere that it is natural for men to fall into groups; it treats these groups as more than mere collections of individuals; it presupposes, that is, the reality of societies as distinct from the individuals that compose them; yet it does not treat any societies as final except one. While it represents this, as will appear, in three ways, the natural name for it, though not the final one, is "the Kingdom of God." What the New Testament has to say about other human associations, depends upon their several relations to this one. In Christian thought it alone, with the individual, is capable of perfection and so of eternity. The final units of Christian social theory are three—God, the individual, the "Kingdom."

While the concept of the "Kingdom of God" or "of Heaven" is more prominent in some parts of the New Testament than in others—and most prominent of all in the words of Jesus—yet it is not altogether absent from any of the groups into which the documents fall.[2] Like

[1] *Cf.* pp. 285 ff.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 233 f.

individualism it is a ubiquitous notion. Usually a distinction is made between the use of the phrase by Jesus and by the Apostles. On His lips it seems to be something present, in their letters something future. This is really only one instance of a wider phenomenon, for it was one of the marks of Jesus that He treated the perfect as possible and even as actual.[1] Yet the contrast is not absolute. Jesus taught His disciples to pray "Thy kingdom come" as for something future, and the time when "the Son of Man" should "sit on the throne of His glory" was of course not yet; so, too, He once met the expectation that "the Kingdom of God should immediately appear" with a parable of postponement.[2] On the other hand, the usual name for Jesus in the Epistles is "Christ," a word whose contemporary connotation included the present founding of the Messianic "kingdom";[3] further, more than one text can be quoted from the Epistles that treats the Kingdom as a present thing—"I will know not the word of them that are puffed up, but the power. For the kingdom of God is not in word but in power";[4] "Let not then your good be evil spoken of; for the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost."[5] Again, it is not easy to think that the one use of the term in the Fourth Gospel had only a future reference.[6] One or two such instances, just because they are so allusive, show that the idea of the Kingdom as present did not perish in the Church. The difference, though real, is not more than a difference of emphasis.

The allusiveness named marks all the texts about the

[1] Even in St Mark's Gospel, though it is descriptive and not interpretative, Jesus' teaching is altogether of the perfect Kingdom and His life that of one who lived therein. *Cf.* also pp. 264 f.

[2] Matt. xix. 28; Luke xix. 11 ff; *cf.* Mark ii. 20, xiv. 25; Matt. xvi. 19, xxv. 34; Luke xii. 32, xxi. 31, xxii. 29 f.; Acts i. 3.

[3] Acts, for instance, never uses this word without the recollection of its original Jewish meaning—see the writer's note in "Expository Times," xix., pp. 45 f.

[4] 1 Cor. iv. 20.

[5] Rom. xiv. 17.

[6] John iii. 3, 5; *cf.* 1 Cor. xv. 24; Rev. i. 6, 9.

Kingdom in the New Testament outside the Synoptic Gospels. This means that in the early Church the concept of the Kingdom had already become a commonplace. The Epistles, being all written to meet some particular need, do not discuss anything well-known and unquestioned. Their references to the Kingdom treat it as a thing of this kind.[1] Again, if it be true that Matthew's five great discourses[2] owe something to compilation, the fact that they all deal in some way with the Kingdom, proves its prominence in early Christian thought. It is hard to think that it had had any other principal exposition than Jesus' own, as preserved in the unique forms of the first three Gospels. In them the "Kingdom of God" or "of Heaven" is the phrase under which Jesus sets out His ideas; there are even texts that broadly draw everything that He said under this one term;[3] hardly a Parable does not describe it, hardly a dictum does not assume it. The ultimate impression that Jesus made upon the Jewish people was that He had come in some way to restore the Kingdom "of our Father David," as even Pilate knew. What did the phrase mean?

There has been much dispute about it, yet the meaning of the phrase itself, at least for the purposes of social doctrine, can be simply stated. In Jesus' teaching it was initial and not final, the starting-point not the goal. He had good reason for beginning with it, for a wise teacher always begins with an idea that has two qualities—it must be one pertinent to his hearers' realm of thought, and it must be one that is true. It would have been useless for Jesus to begin with such teaching as the Fourth Gospel's, for even at the last His closest disciple did not fully understand it; on the other hand, the idea that human society is a Kingdom of God was already universal in Judaism. None who knew the Old Testament could miss it. And it embodied an essential truth; it was the final expression

[1] *e.g.* 1 Thess. ii. 12; Gal. v. 21; 1 Cor. vi. 9 f.; Col. iv. 11; Eph. v. 5; 2 Tim. iv. 18; Jas. ii. 5; 2 Peter i. 11; Heb. xii. 28; Rev. xii. 10.

[2] Matt. v.–vii., x., xiii., xviii., xxiii.–xxv.

[3] *e.g.* Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, xxiv. 14; Mark xv. 43; Luke iv. 43, viii. 1.

of the distinctive Hebrew tenet that God is the proper head of human society. So far Jesus and His hearers found common ground.

Beyond this, however, they could hardly go a step together. His exposition of what He meant by the "Kingdom of God" was a constant protest against what they meant by it. He denied much that they took for granted. This is why His Parables, which after two millenniums of Christian exposition seem so simple, almost always either puzzled or exasperated His contemporaries.[1] Jesus chose to begin from the phrase "the Kingdom of God" because it is the simplest statement of the truth from which He and His hearers could alike start; but though He began with it, He did not end with it. His teaching, whether in the Synoptists or St John, does not usually in the strict sense expound the term at all, but adds to it. Or rather, it expounds the true idea of "God" and so elevates and enriches that of "Kingdom." Which of the ideas in the Thirteenth of Matthew, for instance, are logically inherent in the latter word? And, when Jesus came to His final teaching, He no longer much needed the phrase, for its truth was included with a great deal else under the word "Father." This rather than "King" is His ultimate social term.[2] It is natural, therefore, that the phrase "Kingdom of God" should be rare both in the discourses of the Fourth Gospel[3] and in the Epistles. Yet it defines a truth that is for ever fundamental in sociology. The first New Testament account of the perfect society, epitomising the Old Testament, affirms that it must of course be a "Kingdom of God."

The Ideal Society: (2) "*In Christ*"

The term "Kingdom" naturally leads to the term "Christ," for to Jesus' contemporaries "the Christ" was just the last and perfect Hebrew King. He Himself

[1] *e.g.* Matt. xiii. 10 ff., xxi. 45 f.

[2] See Chap. v. Sect. G.

[3] It is stated above (p. 234) that the idea is common in this Gospel, and the proof is alleged that the term "Christ" is frequent, but it will be found that this occurs, as elsewhere, not so much on Jesus' lips as on His hearers'.

accepted the title, though He gave it His own exposition ;[1] Peter's Confession "Thou art the Christ" marked an epoch in His story; on "Palm Sunday," as the people recognised,[2] He arranged His simple pageant that He might claim the throne of David. A certain type of teaching was inherent in the claim. There is record of a conversation in which it is assumed that to "follow" Jesus was to enter the Kingdom of God,[3] and of another that made the true "following" of Him the way to "eternal life;"[4] He claimed an allegiance from men that should surpass the love of father or mother;[5] He constantly treated Himself as the head of a new society;[6] He asserted that a man's relation to Him was decisive of destiny;[7] and He sent His apostles to evangelise the world with the assurance that He was the world's master.[8] Similarly, as already noted, there are texts in which the phrase "Son of Man" can only be fairly explained if it mean the head of a new and true humanity.[9] One of the most striking is the last of Matthew's three Parables of Judgement. Here the tremendous doom, both of good and evil men, hangs upon the way in which they have treated the "Son of Man" in His "little ones."[10] Beneath its imagery this parable hides just the Johannine theory of the unity of Jesus and His disciples. The Synoptists teach a society whose head is "the Christ."

The same doctrine pervades the rest of the New Testament. A few leading illustrations may be named. The Acts of the Apostles tells the heroic story of the spread of the society of the Christ, the argument of Romans makes Him the Second Adam and its mystic chapters discover in Him the secret of life, the whole Ephesian Epistle throbs with the sense of triumphant unity with Him, for the writer to the Hebrews the Priesthood of

[1] *e.g.* Mark viii. 29, ix. 41, xiv. 61 f.; Luke xxiv. 26; John i. 41, 49, iv. 25 f. *Cf.* Mark i. 1; Luke iv. 41; Acts ii. 31, 36, v. 42, viii. 5, xvii. 3.
[2] Mark xi. 9 f.
[3] Luke ix. 57-62.
[4] Mark x. 17, 21.
[5] Matt. x. 37.
[6] *e.g.* Matt. xxiii. 10; Mark ix. 41.
[7] Mark viii. 35-38, x. 29 f., xiii. 13; Luke vii. 23.
[8] Matt. xxviii. 18.
[9] See pp. 238 f.
[10] Matt. xxv. 40; *cf.* x. 40, xviii. 5; Luke x. 16.

Jesus is ultimate and explanatory truth, the Apocalypse makes Him master of history, John's Gospel spends its deep simplicity in saying "This is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom Thou didst send, Jesus Christ."[1] Everywhere there is the teaching that Jesus Christ introduced in His earthly life the last society of men, rules it now, and shall perfect it hereafter.[2] As His incarnation inaugurated, so His Parousia shall conclude a new world.[3] To frame and preach a Christian sociology apart from the personal Christ, would leave New Testament social teaching a headless trunk. Or, to adapt one of Jesus' own similes, it would be like a wedding without a bridegroom.[4]

But how is the relation of Christ to the new society to be defined? The New Testament uses several figures for it, but none of them is altogether adequate. For it is really a unique relation—transcending other social relations, even while it is like them. The best way to approach it is to recall that Jesus chose His disciples one by one.[5] Between Him and each Christian there is a link called "faith." His followers are one with each other because by "faith" each of them is one with Him. The Synoptic Gospels do not expound "faith"; they assume it. The first disciples knew the *fact* that there was a deep and decisive personal relation between Christ and each of them. They experienced it, though they did not understand it. Its discussion, not its creation, awaited Paul. In his letter to Rome, for instance, he but expounded the "faith" of which the Roman Christian already had experience. The fact outstretched even his exposition, for he left unanswered questions about it, but this much the great Apostle elucidated—that "faith" issues in a

[1] John xvii. 3.

[2] *e.g.* Acts iii. 21; 1 Thess. v. 9 f.; Gal. iii. 28; 1 Cor. xii. 27; 2 Cor. v. 17; Rom. viii. 29, xiv. 9; Col. ii. 19, iii. 11; Eph. i. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 10; 1 Peter iii. 15; Jude 4; Heb. i. 8, v. 9; Rev. xi. 15, xix. 16, xxii. 20; John i. 12, viii. 12, xvii. 2; 1 John v. 12. Some of these texts silently assume the identity of the society of which Christ is head with the Kingdom of God. For those that seem to refer to the Church rather than the Kingdom, *cf.* Chap. vi. Sect. E.

[3] A new *οἰκουμένη*, and so a new *κόσμος*.

[4] Mark ii. 19.

[5] See pp. 235 ff.

union between the Christ and the Christian which transcends all the usual forms of speech. It was this that drove him to frame the master phrase "in Christ." John has the same idea though not the identic phrase.[1] The chief consequence of this doctrine for social theory is discussed below.[2] The Pauline phrase "in Christ" stands with "the Kingdom of God" as the second significant term in the New Testament description of the final society.

The Ideal Society: (3) *The Society of the Spirit of God*

The term "faith" gives an easy transition to the third New Testament concept of this society's union, union by Spirit. For "faith" implies a "spiritual" connexion between two persons. Men are accustomed to societies that have a more or less physical basis—by birth as in a family, by place as in a city, by speech as in a race—and they forget that none of these societies coheres by a bond that is merely physical. Indeed the nobler the kind of society, the smaller the part played by material links of any sort. For instance, in the Babylonian dispersions the unity of the scattered Jews, unlike that of their neighbour races, needed no local bond. So a religion that can embrace a hundred tongues, surpasses one that is only at home in one; so, too, the human family, having other than merely physical bases, is more than the animal's brood. A materialistic philosophy has of course no explanation of any spiritual bond. For it all societies are mere aggregations, having no true reality of their own, and their bond is an unsolved puzzle. Christianity is not primarily a philosophy, and its Books have no philosophic account of the nature of society, but they agree with ordinary thought in assuming that true societies are just as actually real as individuals, and they tell of a society that surpasses all others in having a bond *purely* spiritual. They think this society therefore intrinsically eternal, for it is another axiom of the New Testament that "the things that are not seen are eternal."[3] The final

[1] *Cf.* p. 273. [2] See pp. 268 ff. [3] 2 Cor. iv. 18.

society of the New Testament is not linked by a common racial origin, nor by a common speech, nor by a common country, nor by a common citizenship—its link is utterly a common spirit. The reality of spirit, an axiom in the Bible, carries with it the reality of societies. Only so can justice be done to the facts of human life.

The Old Testament had slowly prepared the way for this concept. A beginning of the recognition of the spiritual basis of true fellowship was made when the ancient Hebrew admitted the "ger" to the citizenship of Israel merely on the ground of his worship of Jehovah.[1] Then the Prophetic enthronement of Righteousness in social theory presented this truth in another way,[2] and the voluntary gathering of the band that returned from the Exile in a third.[3] "The Remnant" consisted just of those who had the "Spirit of God." Again, every Prophetic passage that named or implied "spirit" aided the idea. Isaiah's description of the Kingdom of Peace,[4] Jeremiah's enunciation of a new kind of Covenant,[5] the great exile's discovery of the prosperity of sinless suffering,[6] are but chief among a multitude.

Here as elsewhere the New Testament, while it entered into the heritage of the Old, added thereto. And here, again, the fact preceded and still exceeds its explanations. Jesus' method of gathering a school of disciples about Him was of course not peculiar, nor was His unity with them unique, for the group was linked, not only by a common spirit, but by a common fatherland, a common speech, a common habitation, a visible master. Though the spiritual bond was there, the physical bond was there too, and the disciples shrank from the prospect of its severance as from the dissolution of the society itself.[7] The Rabbi, however, did not share this dismay. He many a time let fall sayings that imply the finality of a fellowship whose only essential bond is spiritual—"Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is My brother, and sister,

[1] See pp. 89 ff. [2] See pp. 125 ff.; *cf.* p. 202. [3] See pp. 186 f.
[4] Is. xi. [5] Jer. xxxi. [6] Is. liii.
[7] John xvi. 6.

and mother;"[1] "John said unto Him, Master, we saw one casting out devils in Thy Name, and we forbade him, because he followed not us. But Jesus said, Forbid him not. For he that is not against us is for us";[2] "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them";[3] "Behold I send forth the promise of My Father upon you";[4] "Lo I am with you alway even unto the consummation of the age."[5] This, again, is the implication of Jesus' insistence on "faith" as the bond of the true society, and, for the writer, the primary meaning of the institution of the Lord's Supper.[6] The passages, therefore, in which St John makes His Master expound more fully and clearly the idea that underlay these sayings is only their proper "fulfilment." The saying, "It is helpful for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Paraclete will not come unto you,"[7] was only the more explicit recognition of the truth that a yet more perfect kind of society was to supersede the one that He and His disciples had hitherto formed. The Acts of the Apostles tells of the birth and early spread of this society. Its miracle is the early Church, a society that blent Oriental and Western, the ruler and the subject, the master and the slave; a society that transcended differences of tongue, custom, country, ancestry, education; a society that had no visible basis but trusted wholly to community of spirit; and yet a society whose unity was unmistakably real and aggressive. According to all preconceived notions—according even to common opinion still—this society's life should have been brief, its influence feeble, its sphere small. But history has vindicated Jesus. It was by the wisdom of God that He staked all the future on a single parting gift—"Receive ye the Holy Ghost."[8]

There is no need to trace through the later New Testament records the evidence of the belief that the primary

[1] Mark iii. 35. [2] Mark ix. 38 f. [3] Matt. xviii. 20.
[4] Luke xxiv. 49. [5] Matt. xxviii. 20.
[6] See an article in *The Interpreter*, Jan., 1918, on "The Real Presence."
[7] John xvi. 7. [8] John xx. 22.

bond of the true society is spiritual. Without it, for example, the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, the sixth of John, the still wonder of Christ's farewell in the Fourth Gospel's later chapters, and almost the whole Epistle to the Ephesians, were mere jargon. But the documents' explanation of the bond of this society, as simple as astonishing, is worth tracing a little more in detail. They claim that the spirit that gave unity to the early Church—the spirit that informs already the perfect society in so far as present, and that shall inform it utterly hereafter—is none other than the personal Spirit of God. A few leading passages are gathered below,[1] but the more intimate a reader's knowledge of the New Testament the more inadequate even such texts seem to express its doctrine of the indwelling of the Spirit of God in the new society. To transcribe the whole book would be the only adequate account! The usual meaning of "spirit," as applied to societies, is at once required and transcended. The third Christian account of the perfect society centres in the term "Holy Spirit." The various New Testament writers display a natural variety in their presentation of this doctrine as of others, but they agree in its truth. The final society of men embodies the Spirit of God.

That this third definition of a true humanity was for New Testament thinkers but another account of "the Kingdom" is explicitly stated by St John—"Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God"[2]—and here again this writer only elucidated what his forerunners' story had implied. An exposition of the New Testament doctrines of the Kingdom and the Spirit would show that each involves the other. But usually the Apostolic writers link the third of the great descriptions of the perfect society, not with the first, but with the second. For them the "Holy Spirit" is the Spirit of "Christ" and His indwelling expounds the mystic phrase "in Christ." For instance, at the "Apos-

[1] Acts ii. 4, 17, v. 3, x. 46 f., xv. 28; Gal. v. 22, 25; 1 Cor. ii. 12, iii. 16, xii. 13; Rom. viii. 16 f.; Eph. ii. 22; 1 Peter iv. 14; Jude 20 f.; Heb. vi. 4; Rev. ii. 7; John iv. 23 f.

[2] John iii. 5.

tolic Council" Peter, by parallel phrases, identified the two—"And God, which knoweth the heart, bare [the Gentiles] witness, giving them the Holy Spirit, even as He did unto us; . . . we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, in like manner as they";[1] in the Galatian Epistle Paul passes easily from the "fruits of the Spirit" to "they that are in Christ Jesus," and as swiftly back to life "by the Spirit";[2] in the First Corinthian Epistle a short saying defines "in Christ,"—"He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit";[3] so again, the great passage about the "body of Christ" depends entirely upon the doctrine that "one spirit" animates its every member;[4] the Second Corinthian letter says in set terms, "Now the Lord is the Spirit";[5] the mystic Eighth of Romans alternates between the "Spirit of God" and "the Spirit of Christ"; the Christian unity of Jew and Gentile bases here—"For through [Christ] we both have our access in one Spirit unto the Father";[6] for the writer to the Hebrews to "do despite unto the Spirit of grace" is a synonym for to "tread under foot the Son of God";[7] and the vehemence of the Apostle of Love, as he links the historic Jesus with the Spirit of God,[8] recalls his ancient surname "Boanerges."[9] The phrase "in Christ," therefore, not only describes those who belong to the Kingdom of God but connotes the possession of the "Holy Spirit." The three New Testament descriptions of the perfect society are one.

Some Characteristics of the Final Society

Some of the qualities proper to the perfect society will appear in subsequent Sections, but others may best be noticed here. The first is the counterpart of a quality in the doctrine of the individual.[10] The Messianic theory

[1] Acts xv. 8, 11.
[2] Gal. v. 22 ff.
[3] 1 Cor. vi. 17.
[4] 1 Cor. xii. 4-27.
[5] 2 Cor. iii. 17.
[6] Eph. ii. 18.
[7] Heb. x. 29.
[8] 1 John iv. 1 ff., 12 ff.
[9] Add, for instance, Acts ii. 33; 2 Thess. ii. 13 f.; 1 Cor. ii. 11-16, xii. 3, xv. 45.
[10] See pp. 251 f.

current in Jesus' day had in reality abandoned the principle distinctive of earlier Hebrew thought in its every stage of evolution—that God is a true member of human society and its natural head.[1] This idea the New Testament, on the other hand, worked fully out. Of its three definitions of the ideal society two refer directly to God—one making mankind the "Kingdom of God," another making it the embodiment of His Spirit—yet here too the third definition is even more significant. Christian theology finds that all the facts of the New Testament are only satisfied if Jesus Christ be held both God and man. The doctrine of His person is at once the climax and the ground of the old Hebrew creed that God and man naturally belong to each other.

It is consonant with this that none of the three New Testament accounts of the perfect society immediately links men with one another. The direct connexion of each man is with Christ, and only through Him with other men. There are, indeed, many direct social bonds between men now, but that is because their present relations are imperfect; these bonds will disappear or merge in a higher relation "when that which is perfect is come."[2] In the New Testament Jesus is no titular patron of a society whose true link must be sought elsewhere; the Bible nowhere names a "common spirit of humanity," or a "common conscience," or a "human *ethos*"; in it mankind is one in God. He is the focus that gives the curve its line, He the sun that unites the rays. So the characteristic act of the final society is worship.

It has been constantly assumed above that the kind of society now described is both perfect and eternal.[3] Yet it is also present. Jesus began His ministry with this cry, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand";[4] He boldly promised His hearers "There be some here . . . which shall in no wise taste of death,

[1] See p. 232.

[2] See pp. 308 ff.

[3] *Cf.* the silent assumption in Mark that to enter "the Kingdom" is the same thing as "eternal life" (Mark x. 17, 23, 30). *Cf.* too Luke i. 33; Matt. xxviii. 20; 1 Cor. xv. 24; Heb. i. 8; 1 Peter i. 4; 2 Peter i. 11; Rev. xi. 5.

[4] Mark i. 15.

till they see the kingdom of God come with power";[1] His parables contemplated the Kingdom sometimes as existing within an imperfect world, sometimes as the conclusion of that world's story.[2] Similarly, while Matthew treats the "consummation of the age" as a future goal,[3] the writer to the Hebrews speaks of it as already here,[4] and Paul makes the present "the fulness of the time."[5] Only those who decline to study the phenomenon of growth will find in this any contradiction. In the seed the plant is both present and future; a new-born babe is a person, yet how few of a person's qualities it exhibits. In one way the perfect society was present in the first amorphous worship of God; in another it was born in the first perfect Man; in a third it began when men first received the fulness of the Spirit of God. The Christian society conforms to the universal principle of the evolution of life,—"First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear,"—yet the blade is still the plant. The Kingdom of God has begun.

Another mark of the new society is universality. It is to include all mankind. This superb idea seemed feasible enough to men of the First Century, for their world had become used to the experience of world-empires, but in the Christian Ideal it took a distinctive form. For the series of world-empires that began with Assyria and stretched to Rome founded always upon the dominance of a single race. In its every instance one people coerced the rest of men. Rome's extension of her "citizenship" to many not of Roman blood was really no exception, for the "Romans" were still a few amid a multitude and their rule too based on force. The current "Messianism" of Jesus' day expected for Israel such a dominion as this. One race was to sway the world. The claim was not all folly. Through Israel the true religion had evolved, and, as religion is nobler than art and literature, than war and law—as it is the capital

[1] Mark ix. 1. [2] *e.g.* Matt. xiii. 24 ff., 36 ff., xxv.
[3] Matt. xiii. 39 f., 49, xxiv. 3. xxviii. 20.
[4] Heb. ix. 26. [5] Gal. iv. 4.

attribute of man—so "at the end of the days" it will sit upon the throne of human life. The ultimate empire in one sense is to be Israel's indeed. But it is not to be hers in the way of ancient world-empires. The Old Testament has prophecies of a distinctive kind of universalism—universalism by a common spirit.[1] Under this the privilege of Israel, as the peculiar people of God, would of course lapse—under the Roman and Assyrian type it would culminate.

The Israel of Jesus' time was unequal to the test of choice. Aware that the ultimate empire must somehow be hers, she could not believe that it would be given her to share and so to lose. She must still be the favourite of God. Christianity embraced the creed that Israel refused. It too expected the unity of the whole race in a single realm, as is implied in the Gospels[2] and explicit in the Epistles,[3] but it allowed no dominant or privileged nation. This formed the real subject of Paul's long controversy with the Jew, whether within or without the Church. The teaching of Christ carried to its natural outcome the ancient doctrine that there is "no respect of persons" with God, and implicitly denied to any people an exclusive privilege in the Kingdom of Heaven. Had Christianity been content to admit a Jewish pre-eminence in its theory, it is quite possible that it might in the end have been tolerated in Palestine as no more than a peculiar opinion about the Messiah,[4] but it preferred the rarer

[1] See pp. 150 f., 182, 212 f.

[2] They all have texts to show that Jesus expected His Gospel to transcend Israel's little limits—*e.g.* Mark xi. 17, xiii. 10, xiv. 9; Luke xiii. 29, xxiv. 47; Matt. xii. 18-21, xxiv. 14, xxv. 32, xxviii. 18-20; John viii. 12, x. 16, xii. 20, 23—but the real proof here is the natural universality of Jesus' teaching. A few instances may be given—Mark ii. 17; Luke iv. 5, iv. 25 ff., xv; Matt. v. 45, xxv. 31 ff.; John iv. 21 ff.—but the quality is pervasive. Here again John has the explicative text—"I am the light of the world." *Cf.* too the title "Son of Man" (see pp. 239 f.).

[3] Rom. xiv. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 27; Phil. ii. 10 f.; Eph. i. 20 ff.; Heb. ii. 8; 1 Peter iii. 22; Rev. xvii. 14, etc. etc.

[4] The hostile mob in the Temple listened to Paul's defence from the steps of Antonia in silence when he told them that he accepted Jesus' claims to Messiahship, but burst into angry tumult when he hinted that the Christian Gospel included the Gentiles. *Cf.* the writer's article in *London Quarterly Review*, April, 1910.

and nobler kind of universalism. Paul exhibited the temporariness of one of the two great Jewish privileges of the day, the Mosaic Law—the writer to the Hebrews that of the other, the Temple worship.[1] The reasoning of both has often been laid out. Their common conclusion is that in the final society neither the Jew nor any other race can take precedence of its brethren. Christianity's universalism, in harmony with its doctrine of the individual,[2] means the brotherhood of all nations, not the dominion of one.

With this conclusion goes the broader one, that none of the distinctions that give one man or one set of men exclusive privilege during the imperfect stages of the evolution of history shall at last obtain. Christian universality issues in Christian equality. "In Christ" every man has an equal access to God, and this primary equality will at last be decisive for the rest of life. "Shall he not with [Christ] freely give us all things?";[3] "All things are yours," for "ye are Christ's."[4] Equality in the sense of sameness there is not in any of the works of God, but all the great Father's children are equal in His love. Each will have full opportunity to fulfil his own destiny. In the typical texts given below[5] the disappearance of privilege is implicitly connected with each of the three definitions of the future society. All of them, too, in their very names, imply the equal type of universality. This is the just issue of the democratic tendencies of the Old Testament,[6] and the true definition of liberty.[7] The Kingdom illustrates at once the variety, the liberty, and the equality, of home.[8]

[1] Other passages are Acts ii. 4 ff., the argument of Stephen, etc. etc.
[2] See pp. 235 ff. [3] Rom. viii. 32. [4] 1 Cor. iii. 21, 23.
[5] Gal. iii. 26-8; 1 Cor. xii. 13; Rom. x. 12; Col. iii. 11; Eph. iii. 6; Rev. vii. 9.
[6] See pp. 12, 37 ff., 168 ff., 206 ff. [7] See pp. 246 ff. [8] *Cf.* pp. 291 ff.

Section D.—The Harmony of the Individual and Society

The Crucial Problem

When a theory admits two final units, its last problem must be their relation to each other. In the Christian theory of society, therefore, the ultimate question is—"What connexion is there between the Christian individual and the Kingdom?" Or, to use other terms, "How shall freedom and peace agree?" For the prime claim of individualism is the complete liberty of the individual, and the first principle of any society is peace. How can there be a society in which everyone does just what he likes?

It might be shown that all imperfect social theories do violence to one unit or the other. For instance, Mediæval Christendom depressed the individual for the benefit of society, but with Luther Northern Europe at length began, not only in religion but in all human life, to elevate individualism. To-day the scale begins to dip again towards society. A like oscillation may be anticipated until there come the perfect poise of the Kingdom of God.

Similarly, in every epoch of Old Israel the individual and society had been constrained into a working agreement by compromise. Its Early Ideal ignored society almost altogether by the artifice of the isolation of an individual.[1] Freedom and peace are easy to reconcile in a society of one! The epoch between Moses and David, while it exalted a few great individuals, yet on the whole subordinated the single man to the nation, the tribe, or the family.[2] Under the Monarchy two classes of men, the Kings and the Prophets, claimed and attained liberty,[3] but despotism still denied it to "the many." When the Exiles turned homewards from Babylon the era of true individualism dawned in Israel, for now not only the few great were allowed separate worth but every common

[1] See pp. 5 f., 11 f. [2] See pp. 70 ff. [3] See pp. 111 ff.

man.[1] Forthwith, however, both Haggai and Nehemiah needed to fight a false individualism. In Israel, as elsewhere, the reconciliation of the individual and society was still only partial. Only perfect individuals in a perfect society can perfectly achieve it.

A Mutual Perfection

In the New Testament the immediately helpful definition here is that by "Spirit." Human societies are of two kinds—voluntary and involuntary.[2] A man does not choose his nation or his home, for into these he is born; few Christians choose even their Church. Of voluntary associations, those formed for the pursuit of art, of science, or of pleasure, are examples. It would perhaps be possible to show that historically the latter have gradually become more and more important in life, while the former slowly cease to absorb it. In the infancy of a race, as of a man, societies are joined, not by choice, but inevitably. A clansman must cling to his clan, as a child to his home, or perish. In the final society, on the contrary, there will be no coercion.[3] A man cannot help the bond of blood, of fatherland, of language, but the bond of "Spirit" is altogether free. The New Testament never presents the "Holy Ghost" as being forced on any; He is ever a gift, freely given and freely received. The Kingdom of God will have neither unwilling nor involuntary citizens. As all share its one Spirit, so all heartily consent to its polity. The earlier and less voluntary associations of human life are but "schoolmasters" to train for this one, a "law" to lead to Christ.

Within the society of the future, thus voluntarily joined, everyone will always do just as he chooses. For he who is wholly dominated by a society's spirit, will not wish to do anything alien to its character, while in turn it will impose upon him only the duty that he loves. So service

[1] See pp. 197 ff.

[2] There are societies, of course, which are partly one and partly the other.

[3] *Cf.* Matt. xxvi. 52.

is "perfect freedom." [1] It is true that members even of a perfect society might differ as to the best means to an agreed end, unless all had the wisdom of omniscience—but this difficulty can be met, as the next Section will show.[2] A common and perfect Spirit implies both utter freedom and perfect peace.

It is only putting this another way to say that the individual and society can only be perfected together. Each, indeed, is just the minister of the other's perfection. This becomes clear if it be again remembered that a part of the connotation of "spirit" is life, and that the New Testament continually treats the Kingdom as alive. The tree and its leaves, the body and its limbs, the mind and its functions, any organism and its several parts, reach perfection mutually. No one part even can attain it without the aid of the rest. How shall a flower be independent of the root, the hand of the head, the understanding of the will? While this idea underlies all the passages in which the Kingdom is compared to a living thing—forming for instance a part of the evolutionary thought of the Epistle to the Hebrews [3]—it is most explicit in certain great Pauline passages. The fourth chapter of Ephesians and the twelfth of First Corinthians are greatest of all. In both the simile of the body and its parts is worked carefully out. Christ is the "head" and Christians the members of a living and articulate society. No member is superfluous, none independent of any other. There is a universal ministry. "All the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love." [4] Life in its every form works always the miracle of the union of difference. Even when Paul compared the perfect society to a building, he mixed his metaphors and made it live,[5] and Peter boldly repeated the solecism! [6] In the realm of life perfection is

[1] The early Democracy had in its degree practised this unity (see p. 46).
[2] See p. 290.
[3] *e.g.* xi. 40.
[4] Eph. iv. 16.
[5] Eph. ii. 21.
[6] 1 Peter ii. 5.

naturally mutual. The Parousia of Christ is a climax wherein the individual and society together attain their ideal.[1]

The Inter-dependence of Personality

To many Paul's simile of the "body" will seem to ignore the obvious limitation that a society of human beings cannot be altogether like a body because the "members" of a society have that separating something called "personality." It has now, however, become doubtful, as students of psychology well know, whether this separates men as much as used to be supposed. The question begins to be asked whether, beneath men's independence of each other, there does not lie a connexion. The discussion of this question is far from complete, but the facts of experience undoubtedly refuse to suit a theory that emphasises the exclusiveness of "personality" until it makes men's minds as separate as their bodies, and it is clear that, if once the reality of "spirit" be admitted, that isolation of the individual which his bodily separateness so obviously suggests, may yield to an unseen union. At least it must be admitted that in friendship, in love, in home, there is a true unity of persons, inexplicable by a rigid theory of the isolation of "personality." Persons feed on persons;[2] an absolute solitary could not be a man. Even Crusoe's ingenious contrivances were but adaptations of the inventions of the society of his past. Men make each other.

The New Testament recognises at once the independence and the interdependence of "personality" without attempting to explain how they can co-exist.[3] Interdependence found its first crude Biblical recognition in the ancient practice that involved Achan's household in his fate. The Old Testament's last and deepest instance

[1] *Cf.* pp. 299 f.

[2] *Cf.* Hort, "The Way, the Truth, the Life," p. 194.

[3] Some other ultimate truths, *e.g.* those of the Nature of God and of the Person of Christ, find their nearest possible human expression in what is formally a logical contradiction.

is Deutero-Isaiah's doctrine of the Ministry of Undeserved Suffering.[1] Upon this early Christian thought fastened when it sought Biblical basis for its teaching of a suffering Messiah,[2] and the whole Christian doctrine of Atonement rests on the fact that "personality" is not altogether a separate thing. Else how could the "Son of Man" give His life a "ransom for many?" Or what meaning were there in the Sacramental rite? Or what basis could there be for the Pauline doctrine of "Justification by Faith?" All these assume that the "believer," of his own choice, becomes in some way one with Christ, and they assume it because it is the cardinal fact in Christian experience.[3] Philosophy must explain this, not explain it away! So long as there remains a single "evangelical Christian," a single man who knows by experience what "in Christ" means, the fact will abide—if need be, *sans* explanation—obstinate still. "Faith" is the right use of the inter-dependence of personality.

Probably the writings of St Paul and St John give this inter-dependence the clearest recognition in all literature. Of the teaching of the former some few representative passages from various Epistles may be quoted—"I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me";[4] "For as many of you as were baptised into Christ did put on Christ";[5] "He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit;"[6] "We, who are many, are one body in Christ";[7] "To me to live is Christ;"[8] "Christ in you, the hope of glory;"[9] "Christ is all, and in all;"[10] "That Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith . . . that ye may be filled unto all the fulness of God."[11] Any candid reader sees at once that the writer is striving to express a unity

[1] See pp. 218 ff.
[2] *Cf.* the term "Servant" in the early chapters of Acts.
[3] Myers' "St Paul" is just a long expression of this unity.
[4] Gal. ii. 20. [5] Gal. iii. 27. [6] 1 Cor. vi. 17.
[7] Rom. xii. 5. [8] Phil. i. 21.
[9] Col. i. 27. [10] Col. iii. 11.
[11] Eph. iii. 17, 19. Add, for instance, 1 Thess. i. 1, iii. 8, iv. 16; Gal. i. 16, 22, iv. 19; 1 Cor. i. 4; 2 Cor. v. 21, xiii. 5; Rom. viii. 10, xii. 5, xiii. 14; Phil. iii. 8-11, iv. 13; Col. ii. 6; Eph. ii. 6 f., 10, 13, iv. 12; 2 Tim. i. 1; and, outside Paul, 1 Peter iii. 16, v. 14; 1 John v. 11, 20.

of which both he and his readers had experience, and these are still the texts to which the Christian turns for the nearest account possible in speech of his relation to his Lord. Here the barriers that divide persons from each other at once stand and fall! It is illogical, but it is true. Every real society has in some degree a spiritual blending of persons that has hitherto defied explanation, but in the Christian's union with Christ it reaches its supreme human instance. The union of parent and child, of husband and wife, of friend and friend—all are transcended here.

According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus Himself anticipated this Pauline teaching. The whole burden of its sixth chapter is that "eternal life" can only come to those who feed on Christ. Throughout the exposition of this metaphor there are two truths taken for granted—that a union of personality between Christ and each disciple is possible and indeed essential to perfection, and that it depends upon every man's own choice whether he and Christ be one. "I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever."[1] A second principal Johannine passage is the last discourse of Jesus[2]—a single passage, though it began with conversation, passed into soliloquy, and culminated in prayer. Its chief topic, the theme that engrossed Jesus in His last hours, is the relation of His disciples—and so, ultimately, of mankind—to Himself. His fellowship with His own had grown in tenderness and closeness through three years' mingled joy and discipline; now with His death His friends thought that it must end. Jesus, however, insisted on the contrary, that through the coming of the Holy Spirit it was to grow closer until it issued in unity. Where St Paul used the simile of a body, Jesus used the more perfect one of a tree, for this admits the parable of "fruitfulness."[3] It is plain that this simile, like the other, teaches that men may "in Christ" be one, and that only

[1] John vi. 51. [2] John xiii.–xvii.

[3] Throughout the Master was thinking, not only of the ministry of the various members to each other, but of their common ministry to the "world." He knew that, if once men outside the Kingdom saw its fair harmony, even they would "believe that [God] had sent [Him]" (John xvii. 21).

so can any one of them be perfect. Jesus, after His wont, puts the utter truth—"Apart from Me ye can do *nothing*." [1]

The Type of the Trinity

But even this is not all. The great Gospel of explanation gives beside clear expression to a further doctrine. This is not the place to display the grounds of the Christian belief in the Trinity. It is usually succinctly stated as a belief in "three Persons, one God." Is there not here the archetype of the Christian theory of society? Is there no likeness between the senses in which "person" is used both of God and man? None of the Three is alone—for a solitary person is an incomplete person. None of the Three is imperfect, yet none self-sufficient. The Father, the Son, the Spirit—each enjoys perfect liberty, yet how intimate and eternal their common peace! They show how "personality" may at once be independent and inter-dependent. Can it be that the theory of man's likeness to God applies not only to the human individual but to human society, and that the ancient but hitherto unexplained axiom of the unity of men amid their separation springs from their being in their degree "partakers of the Divine nature?" [2] As the single true man, spite manifold and infinite difference, is yet, so far as a creature may be, like God, is the true human society too, spite manifold and infinite differences, like the Divine? This is what St John's Gospel testifies—"Holy Father, keep them in My name which Thou hast given Me, that they may be one, even as we are." [3] Further, human society, just in so far as it is like the Divine, is to blend with it, man is to be one with God—"Neither for these alone do I pray, but for them also that believe on Me through their word; that they may all be one; even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, *that they also may be in us*." [4] This is a truth beyond full exposition, but not

[1] John xv. 5.
[2] 2 Peter i. 4.
[3] John xvii. 11
[4] John xvii. 21

altogether beyond experience, and its experience depends upon the coming of "the Spirit"—"[The Father] shall give you another Paraclete, that He may be with you for ever. . . . He abideth with you, and shall be in you. . . . In that day ye shall know that I am in My Father, and ye in Me, and I in you."[1] Language cannot further go. In the Biblical sociology God is both the centre and the explanation of the society of men. As in God, so in man, freedom and peace find final harmony where there is the bond of a perfect Spirit, and the one perfect Spirit—of whom man is capable because he bears God's likeness—is the Spirit of God. Here is the climax of the whole evolution of sociology in the Bible, here its many lines meet. It is true that human persons will be for ever separate in a way in which the Divine are not, yet human unity is still to approximate to the Divine. Only by the steady study of this goal can Christian thinkers guide the Church amid the perplexity of the present social confusion. The ideal of Christendom is the free unity of God.

While the doctrine of the likeness of the ideal human society to the Divine finds its best expression in St John, it is yet not peculiar to His Gospel. Passages elsewhere suggest the same conclusion.[2] And there is a pervasive fact that has its own suggestiveness, though its emphasis is not quite on the same point. The reader will have noticed that, while the New Testament accounts of the perfect individual and society were investigated separately, yet the three definitions reached for each were parallel. It was found, first, that the individual is to be like God, and that the society is to be His Kingdom; second, that Jesus is the pattern for the individual, and the society is to be "in Christ"; once more, the individual and the society alike are to be "filled" with the Spirit. Both doctrines really build on the Trinity. In yet another way, therefore, the Fourth Gospel is the natural elucidation

[1] John xiv. 16-20.

[2] *e.g.* Gal. iv. 6 f.; Rom. viii. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 28; Eph. iv. 24; Heb. vii. 25; 1 Peter i. 21; Mark ix. 7.

of its fellow books. Both the single man and the society of men have the same ideal—how shall they not agree? The aim of the individual being to do God's will, and the society being that will realised, the two are naturally one. Here freedom and peace do not contradict, but require each other. God is the exposition of Christian harmony.

"It doth not yet appear what we shall be." Only the Final Ideal's realisation can be its full explanation—only eternity can fitly show the fruitfulness of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Meanwhile the theory of the likeness of the final human society to the Divine, as of the likeness of the individual man to God, might easily be distorted, whereupon the need for the exact definition of its proper limitation would be insistent, but the need of the present is rather that the truth of this likeness be recognised and its consequences developed. While the New Testament has little directly to say about their development—for it leaves this to the exposition of subsequent Christian ages—it has two apposite phenomena. It treats all other societies as ancillary to the Final Ideal and asks about them this one question—How far do they anticipate or serve the Kingdom? The several social institutions noticed in the New Testament are considered from this point of view in the subsequent Chapter. Further, in its account of the nature of God the New Testament uses the phraseology of a particular social unit. "Father," "Son"—these are borrowed from the primordial kind of human society, the one that must in some way have been the earliest of all, the one with which the Biblical theory began, the one constant throughout all the vicissitudes of Old Testament history, the family. Nor is the third term "Spirit" to be excluded. For the family at its highest issues in home, and home is only perfect when it is linked by a common spirit. Common blood does not suffice, else the beasts had homes! Again, so long as the children need coercion, the home is not perfected; only when every child is so "filled" with its spirit that unbidden he willingly and joyfully fulfils its duties, does

home reach its fair zenith.[1] The dominion of a common spirit perfects it. The Trinity is just the one perfect home. Home is the best exposition alike of manhood and of God.[2]

Section E.—The Christian Social Temper

The "Differentia" of Christian Society

A botanist will give an exact and exhaustive description of a daisy, but it is not by this that a child picks it out in a meadow. The discussion of the last three Sections will seem to the "practical" a superfluity, or at best of interest only to the technical theologian, and they will want to know "what difference all this makes," and whether there is any definite mark that distinguishes the conduct of the Christian man and behaviour in the Christian society from those of other men and other societies. And, though the scorn of the theoretic be not justifiable, the demand is reasonable, for the botanist and the child need each other. There is a quality peculiar to Christian sociology. Though its descriptions in the New Testament are many, it is not easy to give it a distinctive name. The word that springs at once to the mind is "love," and this would be the ideal word if it could be confined to the particular kind of love described and exemplified in the New Testament. Unhappily for the present purpose, it has many other senses, some incomplete and some mistaken. It may be used of Buddhism, for instance, of Utilitarianism, or of Positivism. In practical life, again, not a little evil has ensued through the current identification of an amorphous sentiment called "love" with Christianity. In some ways the least misleading term in common use is "Meekness." This has a sense that is far too narrow, but it may also be used in the wider sense of the kind of love that is distinctively Christian. It is with this meaning that "Meekness," spelt with a warning capital, is used below. There

[1] *Cf.* pp. 105, 247 f. For the ways in which the family comes short of the ideal society see Chap. vi. Sect. D.

[2] Illingworth expounds this idea from a different point of view in "Divine Immanence," chap. vii.

are objections to this, but there is need of a single word for the characteristic quality of Christian social doctrine—a word that will distinguish it among various types even of love—and, until a better offers, "Meekness" has at least the advantage that it *is* distinctive.[1]

It is not, of course, meant that this quality exhausts Christian social teaching, for no true social principle is alien to Christianity—but alone among social theories the Christian gives Meekness in this wide sense the chief place. Some other theories give it passing notice, and some ignore it altogether, while a third class declares it to be not a virtue but a vice. Has not Nietzsche, for instance, on its account gibbeted Christianity as a "slave morality?" Christian social ethics includes every other worthy quality, but adds to them its own peculiar trait. In the old logical terminology, this is its *differentia*.

Like all other Christian qualities Meekness was perfectly practised by Christ. The first two chapters of Luke show on any interpretation that He was born into a meek circle;[2] one of His typical temptations was to forgo Meekness;[3] the Sermon on the Mount, especially in its shorter version,[4] is a description of Meekness as the proper bond of the new society; each of the great discourses in Matthew's Gospel illustrates it;[5] its peerless instance is the Cross. He who, having at His call "twelve legions of angels," heard His foes fling the challenge "He saved others, let Him save Himself," and yet chose still to hang upon the tree indomitably meek, showed there once for all how the perfect Christian treats His fellows. English children have not

[1] Not a few Christian doctrines have found final expression in terms unknown or rare in Scripture. "Trinity," "Incarnation," "Personality" are instances. Similarly some new term may one day sum the distinctive tenet of Christian sociology (*cf.* p. 301).

[2] The Magnificat is just the praise of Meekness; it was to shepherds that the Angels sang; Mary's characteristic saying was "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to Thy word" (Luke i. 38).

[3] The Temptation of the Temple "pinnacle."

[4] Luke vi. 20 ff.

[5] The longer Sermon, and chaps. x. ("sheep in the midst of wolves"), xiii. ("let both grow together until the harvest"), xviii. ("until seventy times seven"), xxiii.–xxv. ("Inasmuch as ye did it . . .").

wrongly learnt to speak to the Nazarene as "Gentle Jesus, meek and mild." Calvary is the climax of Meekness.

The quality passed from Christ to the Christian Church. The Book of the Acts of the Apostles portrays the success of a meek propaganda; the Apocalypse tells how a "Lamb," the type of Meekness, prevailed over a "Wild Beast," [1] the type of pitilessness; passage after passage in the Epistles, written for the guidance of Christian conduct, depicts the way of life that issues from a "spirit of Meekness"; [2] John's old age recollected that Jesus began the last unveiling of His heart by washing His disciples' feet.[3] Here is another of the ideas that pervade the New Testament. Meekness is the temper proper to the man and the society that are like God, that are "in Christ," that are "filled with the Spirit."

Unlike Righteousness, the leading social idea of the Old Testament, Meekness has not yet taken its proper place in the popular ideal of Christian lands.[4] To-day it is a quality held admirable in the great early Christians and Divine in the Christ Himself, but not always estimable in contemporary life! This opinion, of course, is not reasonable, but a prejudice of "the practical man," yet, as prejudice is more stubborn than reason, and as this particular prejudice springs, at least in part, from an incomplete or mistaken idea of the quality meant, it is worth while to examine it a little further.

The Courage of Meekness

Meekness is often confused with weakness, with cowardice, or with pusillanimity. These mistakes are not unnatural, for often the meek pursue the same line of conduct, though for different reasons, as the weak or the

[1] This is the full meaning of *θηρίον*. For the passages in the Apocalypse that contradict Meekness, see Additional Note 10.

[2] *e.g.* 1 Thess. ii. 5-12; 2 Thess. iii. 12-15; Gal. v. 22 f.; 1 Cor. xiii. 4-7; Rom. xii. 10-20; Phil. ii. 1-11; Col. iii. 12-15; Tit. iii. 2-4; 2 Tim. ii. 24-26; Jas. i. 19-21; 1 Peter iii. 8-18; 1 John iii. 14-18. Heb. xi. is indirectly a great exposition of Meekness as implicit in Old Testament story.

[3] John xiii. 1-12.

[4] See p. 157.

cowardly. But as soon as the question is brought to the touchstone of the New Testament, the difference is discerned. Far from being weakness, Meekness is the control of strength; it is the hardest kind of courage, quiet courage; and it is the finest magnanimity, magnanimity to an unfallen foe. All these are best illustrated from the words and story of Jesus. At the close of the greatest of expositions of Meekness He adduced the example of God Himself—"Love your enemies, and do them good, and lend, never despairing; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be sons of the Most High: for He is kind toward the unthankful and evil."[1] Is God pusillanimous? Again, it was to those whose capacity would make them "great" and "first" among the Christians, that Jesus commended His own example of "ministry" and atonement.[2] Once He used the very word of Himself—"Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls."[3] The self-assertive Pharisee did not understand that a true teacher's superiority is always meek. He makes the yoke as light as may be, for only so will his scholar's strength best grow; he descends to his disciple's level that the scholar may rise slowly to his own. The "gentleness" that makes a disciple "great" is not weak. It is the control of strength. Jesus' courage, again—the harder moral courage, rather than the physical—was tested in every fire, but neither before ruler or people, disciple or Rabbi, the home authority of His "brethren" or the High Priest's ancient and spiritual sway, did He quail. Nor was it a coward who "endured the Cross, despising the shame." Jesus' life and death alike were peerlessly brave.[4] Meekness is strong. Jesus could as easily have struck Malchus dead as healed him.

To descend from the Master to the disciples, can any

[1] Luke vi. 35. [2] Mark x. 44 f. [3] Matt. xi. 28 f.

[4] "A Japanese General was given the Gospels to read for the first time, and after he had perused them, he was asked what quality in Jesus Christ struck him most. 'His bravery,' was the reply" (*Expository Times*, vol. xxix. p. 248).

think the Acts of the Apostles a book of cowards? It is a book of battles. Yet it exhibits Meekness in its every story. See the first Christian leader front the Sanhedrin, as brave as self-forgetful—"Be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even in Him doth this man stand here before you whole."[1] Stephen, with a Meekness like his Lord's, prayed for his foes as they slew him, yet the courage of his Apologia matched Luther's at Worms. The Corinthians mistook Paul's Meekness for weakness,[2] yet his adventures, even judged by the summary list that he gives of them,[3] were so many that they would overburden a modern novel of romance. A single sentence of his stigmatises the error—"If I were still pleasing men, I should not be a servant of Christ."[4] A coward cannot be meek. The "world" knows in its heart that Meekness is not submission but deadly defiance; that is why it so rages against it.

The Contradiction of Despair

Again, Meekness is not to be confounded with any of the many forms of despair. At first sight the teaching of the Buddha seems here to be like that of Jesus, but there is a characteristic difference. Gautama taught that the world and life are miserable mistakes, and his doctrine of submissiveness bases on the creed that action and struggle are not worth while, and that so the true philosophy of life is not to strive but to sink into oblivion. The teaching of esoteric Hinduism, while not atheistic but pantheistic, issues in a not dissimilar theory. Neither in Buddhist nor Hindu philosophy has the self any worth to vindicate. Far different is the Christian theory. In it both the individual man and his world are good and worthy, and human history is just the age-long struggle after their perfection—and Meekness is a chief means to this end.

[1] Acts iv. 10.
[2] 2 Cor. x. 10.
[3] 2 Cor. xi. 23 ff.
[4] Gal. i. 10.

The Christ's perfect Meekness chose Crucifixion because it was the one way to "save" and so to perfect the world, and His followers set out "as sheep in the midst of wolves" that so they might win men to the "eternal life" that is the fit fate of beings made in the image of God. Christian Meekness is aggressive even in its submissions. It is a method of attack.

The West, however, has usually been too confident of the worth of the universe and of self to fall into this error; its own is of a different kind. Its favourite form of despair consists not so much in an argued theory, as in a practical denial. In Mediæval times its characteristic form was the monk's "accidie," the despair of a man who found his secluded life so tasteless that it was not worth while to bother about it at all. The outcome was a certain listlessness that might easily ape as Meekness. Similarly, it is one of the temptations of to-day's strenuousness—of those who recognise the greatness of the Church's task, still more of those who have striven often and seem as often to have failed—to sink into a dull hopelessness that looks much like Meekness. The current cult of altruism too, teaching that self-denial is the last word of ethics, counsels unwittingly a partial despair.

The Meekness of the New Testament is none of these. The Son of Man endured "for the joy that was set before Him"; the earliest Christian Church flung itself with the abandon that expects victory upon the task of winning the world for Christ. Far from preaching self-denial as ultimate virtue, the New Testament always asserts that both in the Master and in His disciples self-denial is the one true way to self-realisation! How could self-denial be the last word of a theory that teaches the worth of the individual?[1] The Sermon of Meekness itself closes with a parable of the success of the man who follows its precepts;"[2] the "corn of wheat" dies indeed, but only that it may live again;[3] in the Apocalypse the meek "overcome" and "the Lamb" reigns; Paul's promise

[1] *Cf.* pp. 248 f. [2] Luke vi. 47 ff. [3] John xii. 24 f.

to the "obedient" was the paradox, "The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly";[1] the greatest Apostolic description of the utter Meekness of Jesus ends with His triumph—"Wherefore also God highly exalted Him, and gave Him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."[2] Christian Meekness is not despair. It never "gives in." It always wins.

Self-realisation by self-subordination

Its true idea is the subordination of the partial end of self to the complete and final end of the Kingdom of God. The best single passage to illustrate this is the one whose climax is the explicit command, "Seek ye the Kingdom of God, and these things shall be added unto you."[3] For what are "these things" but the first necessities of self-realisation, food and clothing? And Jesus' panacea for "worry" about them—the "worry" whose sin is a practical self-centredness—is not at all that a man ought to ignore so lowly and shameful a thing as his own body, but that it is of so great value that God makes its need His care. And, as Jesus' thought soared higher, it was not to tell His disciples that they were to be nothing, but that "It is the Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom." In other words it was Jesus' doctrine that the proper end of all true human endeavour is the establishment of the Kingdom of God, and that within this every other good thing—including a man's own self-realisation—will assuredly be found. Self-denial is for Christianity not an end but a means. The New Testament never advocates it *simpliciter*; its teaching always is that to treat self as an end distinct from the Kingdom and competitive with it, is really to destroy self. For it "selfishness" is the *isolation* of one's own good, and this

[1] Rom. xvi. 20. [2] Phil. ii. 9 ff. [3] Luke xii. 31.

isolation is suicide. On the other hand, to forgo this false individualism, to "die to sin," in Paul's phrase, is "to be reconciled to God." "Reconciliation" is the undoing of "isolation," it is life for suicide. Similarly the most famous of Jesus' own sayings in praise of self-denial promises that he who "denies himself and takes up his cross" shall thereby himself "find [his life]" and "see the Kingdom of God."[1] Not self-suppression but self-subordination is the burden of Meekness. To use commoner words, Christianity teaches that "happiness" is the proper sequel of "holiness." Meekness is the temper of the man who loves himself only as a small part of the works of the God whom he loves "with all his heart and mind and soul and strength." It habitually applies the sense of proportion to self. While selfishness, mistaking the part for the whole, misses the part, Meekness, ever ready to sacrifice the part, gains the whole.

So it does justice to what is good in egoism. Jesus' argument with those of His fellow-guests who "chose out the chief seats,"[2] was perhaps not free from a gentle satire, but His conclusion appealed to a proper self-love, "Every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted";[3] for the disciples' contention about pre-eminence He prescribed the medicine of His own Meekness, but He did not fail to add, "I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as My Father appointed unto Me";[4] similarly Paul's assertion of his Roman citizenship, while inconsistent with the doctrine of the worthlessness of self, accords with his dedication of its prizes to the establishment of the Kingdom of God;[5] only so, again, could the Apostle in a single letter, even in a single breath, vindicate at once his humility and his right—"I reckon that I am not a whit behind the chiefest apostles. . . . Did I commit a sin in abasing myself that ye might be exalted?";[6] James puts the truth with a dangerous nakedness—"Humble yourselves in the sight

[1] Mark viii. 34-39, *cf.* x. 29 f.
[2] Luke xiv. 7.
[3] *Cf.* 1 Sam. ii. 1-10.
[4] Luke xxii. 29.
[5] *e.g.* Acts xvi. 37 ff.
[6] 2 Cor. xi. 5, 7.

of the Lord, and He shall exalt you" ;[1] the Lord of the Revelation encouraged the martyr with this promise, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life,"[2] and its seer's vision of the doom of the saints is not a willing nothingness but "the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall be their shepherd."[3] A Beatitude epitomises the New Testament teaching here—"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

The Inclusive Love

Meekness contrasts with theoretic altruism also in another way. It has been seen above that the great dictum of altruism, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," emerged in Israelite thought as a sequel to a greater command, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart."[4] The New Testament sustains this relation.[5] As a man's own welfare is too slight an aim to absorb his life, so too is his neighbour's ; both rank alike as parts within the large Kingdom of God. Further, the Christian will seek for his neighbour, not what that neighbour likes, but what God purposes for him. The difference may be very great. There is a Christian severity that silently condemns the sentimental humanitarianism of a flabby altruism. The Christian will not give to every beggar, for Jesus did not heal every sick man. The New Testament does not teach mere good nature. It has its austere texts.[6] For Christianity, unlike altruism, has a norm of excellence. Its "Golden Rule"[7] does not begin "Whatsoever men would that ye should do unto them," but "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you." In other words, the Christian as such knows what the true human standard is, and seeks for himself and for every other man the fulfilment of God's ideal of manhood. Meekness, like altruism, refuses the exaggeration of self,

[1] Jas. iv. 10.
[2] Rev. ii. 10.
[3] Rev. vii. 17.
[4] See pp. 206 f.
[5] *e.g.* Mark xii. 29-31 ; Luke ix. 59-62, xiv. 26.
[6] *Cf.* Matt. vii. 6 ; Gal. ii. 4 f. ; 2 Cor. xiii. 2 ; Tit. i. 13 ; John ii. 14 ; 2 John 10 f.
[7] Luke vi. 31.

but unlike it, it requires the assertion of God. His standard is its standard. It is the love of man for the sake of the love of God. Jesus' primary aim was not to save man but to please God.[1] Only from this point of view can Christian Meekness—its austerity and its loving-kindness—be understood. It subordinates the single "self"—whether my own or my neighbour's—to the Kingdom, yet in this it includes both. The Christian social quality, simple enough as a rule in action, is in idea not simple but complex—it involves both the love of God, the love of neighbour, and the love of self, and it involves them in a given relation. For it all other love is ancillary to the love of God, and is included in it.

Here appears the characteristic mark of the Christian society. Every true society requires some degree of self-subordination in its members. Otherwise it would perish. But the crucial question remains—To what end is the self of each of a society's members to be subordinate? To "the good of the society?" Undoubtedly, but then each society has its own definition of good, its own ideal. Meekness means self-subordination in the pursuit of a particular ideal—the Kingdom of God; in it the subordination of self to society becomes the forgetfulness of self in the passionate pursuit of God's glory through a perfected mankind. For instance, the Gospel knows of an "Unforgiven Sin" against the Holy Spirit. He who commits it rejects the temper of the perfect society: he pits his own opinion against God's; he refuses to be meek; his inclusion in the society would be its suicide. Again, for the disunion that cursed the early as well as the modern Church the Apostles always urged the use of Meekness—a common self-subordination to the Kingdom,[2]—and Jesus, foreseeing the difficulty of schooling mankind to this virtue, insisted with peculiar urgency upon its natural fruit, the habit of forgiveness for God's sake.[3] Meekness includes the "love of my neighbour"; its philosophy, like altruism's, depends

[1] John iv. 34.
[2] See passages in footnote 2, p. 279.
[3] *e.g.* Matt. vi. 14 f.

upon the inter-dependence of human persons;[1] but it bases that inter-dependence upon a common dependence. It is the practice of the truth that men are "members one of another" *in God*.[2] The Christian doctrine of society is, so to say, "theopolitan," for it is a doctrine, not primarily of a commonwealth of men, but of the City of God.[3]

The Temper of God

But the phrase "for God's sake" suggests a yet higher instance of Meekness than the Kingdom's. In the New Testament forgiveness is constantly enforced by the example of God.[4] Is God then meek? It would seem that at least there is in His nature a quality corresponding to Meekness. For instance, it was on the ground of His self-restraining loving-kindness with the "evil" and the "unjust" that Jesus commended the love of an enemy.[5] Again, when in the third and fourth chapters to the Ephesians Paul links the Church with the Father and the Son, in both cases it is the praise of Meekness that leads from it to them. "We love," says St John, "because He first loved us."[6] There is another bond too between the nature of God and Meekness. One of Paul's descriptions of the latter naturally falls into the language of home,[7] for Meekness is home's life. How in its wider bliss self is at once lost and found! It is here, therefore,

[1] "Suppose that all human beings felt permanently to each other as they now do occasionally to those they love best. All the pain of the world would be swallowed up in doing good. So far as we can conceive of such a state, it would be one in which there would be no 'individuals' at all, but an universal being in and for another; where being took the form of consciousness, it would be the consciousness of 'another' which was also 'oneself'—a *common* consciousness" (R. L. Nettleship, quoted by Inge, "Christian Mysticism," p. 315). Yet would not the charm of such a society be that the consciousness and so the service were at once individual and common?

[2] "Shed abroad Thy love in my heart, so that I may love Thee, my friend in Thee, my enemy for Thee" (Newman's "Devotions of Bishop Andrewes," p. 62).

[3] Heb. xii. 22.

[4] *e.g.* Mark xi. 25; Matt. xviii. 15-35; Eph. iv. 32; Col. iii. 13.

[5] Matt. v. 45. *Cf.* other passages about the Divine patience with men—*e.g.* Rom. ii. 4, iii. 25; 1 Peter iii. 20; Acts xvii. 30.

[6] 1 John iv. 19.

[7] 1 Thess. ii. 5-12. *Cf.* the term φιλαδελφία.

again significant that the New Testament description of the Trinity uses the terms of home.[1] May it be said that its bond is a Divine Meekness, and that its perfect union is the primary instance of the glad submission of the one to the whole, a submission so natural and joyful that it has ceased to be submission? There are some other hints that this is so. It was in the midst of an exposition of Meekness that the disciples once, as it were, overheard Jesus musing on the nature of God,[2] and in the Fourth Gospel's elucidation of the meek simile of the Shepherd and His sheep there is this phrase, "Therefore doth My Father love Me, because I lay down My life, that I may take it again,"[3]—that is, because I am meek. In the New Testament there are but few glimpses of what may be called the interior life of the Deity, but such as they are, they confirm the suggestion of its home terminology.[4] The "nature of the case," again, so far as it can be "apprehended" by men, seems to require that the law of God's great unity be the entire Meekness of love. Were any one of the Three Persons self-assertive, then indeed the charge of Islam that the Christian has more than one God were true. Self-subordination, though not self-denial, seems to be proper to the Trinity. The first term, unlike the second, need not mean that the self is not fully realised. The one, therefore, though not the other, can belong both to God and to man's Final Ideal. In the perfect society, though none will need to deny himself any true good, all will still need to be meek, for Meekness is the attitude of a man to himself when he loves and lives the truth that in the brotherhood of mankind each brother is responsible to the great Father for the welfare of the whole society and of each of its members. This is the very temper of "heaven." Only when every member of the last society admits and practises Meekness—only when he so loves it that it becomes the natural and glad use of his life—can the perfect Kingdom of God come. Meekness, rightly understood, is of the Divine nature *and so* belongs to the

[1] See pp. 276 f. [2] Matt. xi. 25-30. [3] John x. 17.
[4] Perhaps 1 Cor. xv. 28 should be added to those referred to above.

ultimate ideal. The quality necessary to every true society and paramount in the Kingdom has a Divine archetype. Sociology is a branch of theology. The last Christian society will be one by the temper of God.[1]

The Fulfilment of the Past

Here again there appear both the contrast of Jesus' teaching with contemporary ideals and its "fulfilment" of Old Testament thought. Neither the Pharisee, Sadducee, nor Zealot could find a natural place for Meekness in his doctrine, but each in his own way excluded it.[2] On the other hand, when Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount drew out the meaning of the ancient Law and Prophets, the natural conclusion was an account of just this quality.[3] Many partial anticipations in the Old Testament suggest themselves. The recognition of mutual rights is one,[4] and the idea of Righteousness, in each of its four elements, another.[5] The very word itself is not uncommon in the Old Testament, and, though there it denotes rather a passive quality than an aggressive one, yet the soil held the seed.[6] In one deep passage, indeed, the Hebrew Bible all but anticipated its Christian sequel. The willing sufferer of Deutero-Isaiah, unutterably meek, won thereby his prosperity.[7] Yet even in him Meekness was rather the temper that alone suited a bitter fate than the welcome habit of a freeman's life. He bore an uncomplaining yoke rather than a chosen one. The Nazarene surpassed His greatest type. For only the free can be purely meek—the self alone can subdue the self to the service of society. Under compulsion a man may submit with his body, and may even school his mind to patience, but real Meekness

[1] See pp. 274 f. [2] *e.g.* Mark xii. 1-12; Matt. xxiii. 1-12.

[3] While the several instances of Meekness that Jesus gives in the Sermon are to be taken as illustrations of a temper and not as precepts universally literal, yet it is to be remembered that by His hearers—as by the first Christians in any country—they could be taken literally. How, for instance, save by "turning the other cheek" can a pioneer Missionary commend his Gospel in the face of insult? The Sermon on the Mount is ever his Vade Mecum.

[4] See pp. 42 ff. [5] See pp. 125 ff.

[6] See pp. 154 f., 222 f. [7] See pp. 215 ff.

is spontaneous. Jesus chose to die; the true Christian elects to suffer for others. Meekness solves the final social problem, for it unites liberty and love.

This means that the perfect society has no need for the coercion of law. Will any of the other uses of government—for instruction, for equity, or for organisation[1]—survive? It seems not. Undoubtedly there will still be both teaching and learning or there could be no progress. In the City of God every citizen will be an organ of the Spirit, and so will be in some things a teacher of his fellows and in others their disciple. But the *authority* of instructors is superfluous when both teacher and scholar are meek. Even now the Spirit of God refuses to compel the unwilling to His school. So, again, when everyone "loves his neighbour as himself," there will be no need of law to secure equity. At present all Courts of Equity fail of perfection, partly because, a complete candour being to seek in the parties to the suit, the decisions of the Court are based on imperfect information, and partly because no formal enactment can quite equal the intimate complexity of human relations. A perfect decision would, however, be reached if both parties were utterly honest with each other, if each put himself heartily in the other's place, and if the agreement were rather of spirit than letter—that is, if both were meek. Once more, organisation will in the Ideal be organism. To this it painfully approximates here. Just in proportion as the unity of outward law gives place to that of inward spirit, the organic supersedes the factitious, arrangement passes from the mechanical and the artificial to the spontaneous and natural, and organisation lapses in something higher. Here again the family is the best hint of the Kingdom. As a home grows perfect, its members less and less need even to be told their parts in the order of its life. There is no organisation as distinct from organism in the Trinity. In the Kingdom of Heaven there will no doubt be "laws" in one sense of this ambiguous term—in the same sense as there are now "laws" or uniform

[1] See pp. 54 ff.

sequences in the "natural" sciences—but "law" then means only a statement of a regular act in an organism and has no connexion with government. The Kingdom is to be a combination hitherto unknown—of the perfect organism with the perfect individual, of complete freedom with utter peace. It is lawless. God's government there is altogether by spirit.

Again, Meekness fulfils the Old Testament doctrine of responsibility.[1] Jesus, matchlessly simple, put the connexion in two familiar figures—"*Ye* are the salt of the earth," "*Ye* are the light of the world."[2] So two Parables, peculiar to St Luke—those of "Dives and Lazarus" and "The Prodigal's Elder Brother"—exhibit a sin that may be called indifferently neglected responsibility or rejected Meekness. So, too, one of the First Evangelist's singular quotations describes Jesus' ministry as the meek triumph of God's "Servant"[3] and his account of the commission of the Twelve[4] is just an exposition of the Meekness that admits freely the responsibility and undertakes bravely the task of the winning of the world. Meekness, that is, means Missions.[5] Every Epistle again was written under its stimulus, and the Acts of the Apostles is just an account of the practice of the responsibility of the meek. Meekness is just responsibility at work—responsibility, as of old, however, *to* God *for* man. "Of those whom Thou hast given me have I lost not one."

The natural connexion of Meekness with equality[6] is as clear as with responsibility. It is the will of God that each of His children have full opportunity to fulfil his own destiny, to be that which he worthily longs to be, and this defines too the aim of the truly meek man. He knows that in the complete Divine plan the noble success of his neighbour has a place just as has his own; he knows too that none can reach the fulness of his powers alone, that men find for each other the sphere of opportunity;

[1] See pp. 11, 46 ff., 168 ff., 212 f., 215 ff.
[2] Matt. v. 13 f.
[3] Matt. xii. 18-21.
[4] Matt. x. 5-42.
[5] Almost every mistake about Meekness—its confusion with cowardice, with the policy of "peace at any price," with self-denial, with despair, with altruism—is met in this passage.
[6] *Cf.* p. 267.

and he seeks for others a perfect sphere of self-realisation as earnestly as for himself. Meekness is the final guarantee of true equality.

The upshot is the euthanasia both of privilege and disadvantage. For the inequity of these, spite their temporary "accommodational" justification, is not that they make men different, but that they give to some but deny to others the opportunities of self-realisation. When each is able to be all that he worthily wishes, he will not grudge to his brother an opportunity that would be useless to himself. Shall the ear envy the eye its focus or the eye begrudge the ear its drum? In the perfect society the three old types of responsibility[1] reduce to the one type of the mutual ministry of the truly equal.

Finally, Meekness is the true way of progress. Mankind is slowly learning that only by mutual ministry can perfection come. To each man, each class, each nation, there is a gift given whose help the others need. The progress of society, as of all other living things, comes by growth, and growth is always by the reciprocal service of each and all.[2] The practice of Meekness is the path to perfection.

Section F.—Bliss

The Joy of the Kingdom

"The greatest happiness of the greatest number" was the watchword of a social theory with which Christianity did battle *à outrance*, yet in its own sense Christianity offers more. It promises the *entire* happiness of *all*. Here too the New Testament "fulfils" the Old.[3] While something was necessarily said of prosperity in the discussion of the Christian ideal for the individual,[4] in the main the word has social content.

The popular books of Jesus' day, the Apocalypses, all taught the old Israelite creed that, in spite of appearance,

[1] See pp. 215 f.
[2] Eph. iv. 16.
[3] See pp. 7 ff., 30 f., 35, 158 f., 188 ff.
[4] See pp. 248 ff.

God would restore His people's prosperity. With this the New Testament agrees. Jesus' Sermon at Nazareth based on a text that foretold the end of the world-wide reign of suffering;[1] His every miracle preached the hope of the passing of woe; He promised His disciples that the "Parousia" should bring victory to the patient;[2] He pledged them a "Heaven" whose joy should be as the joy of weddings or the reunion of home.[3] The later New Testament says the same. It is true that in its Apocalyptic passages history moves to a climax of doom, but then their midnight has always a dawn. For instance, the most hopeless single passage in the New Testament ends with these words—"But, according to His promise, we look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness,"[4] and the long horror of the later chapters of the Book of Revelation fades at last before the light of the "Holy City." The whole of the Apostolic writings are expectant of happiness; their authors stand a-tip-toe with eagerness for Christ's "Parousia" of bliss. The Kingdom of God is joy.

The word bliss gives the distinctive Gospel standpoint. Although "happiness" has been used above in a general sense, the terms "pleasure," "happiness" and "bliss" may be used to form an ascending series—the first connoting joy in things, the second in persons, the last in God. Or rather, on these severally the *emphasis* of each lies. "Blessedness" or "bliss" in this its exact use is distinctive of religious joy.[5] Christianity finds its characteristic delight in God.

Yet happiness includes pleasure, and bliss includes happiness. Delight in persons surpasses but requires delight in things; delight in God embraces all. So, while it is impossible fully to define bliss, as it too is a quality in an

[1] Luke iv 18 f.; *cf.* vii. 22.
[2] *e.g.* Luke xxi. 19, 28.
[3] Matt. xxii. 2 ff.; Luke xv. 22 ff.
[4] 2 Peter iii. 13.
[5] It is true that the Greek of the New Testament has not two terms corresponding to "happy" and "blessed" but this is because the Bible always connects true happiness with religion. *Cf.* the Beatitudes.

unrealised ideal, yet its chief elements may be distinguished as the enjoyment of God, the enjoyment of mankind, the enjoyment of things.

The Three Enjoyments

Some of the symbols of the Apocalypse, and especially those of its closing vision, well illustrate the Christian enjoyment of God. This vision describes, not heaven, but a perfect society on earth—"And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, *coming down out of heaven* from God,"—and its seer chooses unerringly the type of home joy. The City comes like "*a bride adorned for her husband.*" The final society is as glad as a wedding. What is the centre of its bliss? "Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and He shall dwell with them, and they shall be His peoples, and God Himself shall be with them, and be their God; and He shall wipe away every tear from their eyes."[1] A later verse says, "And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God the Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple thereof."[2] The contrast of this with the crowning vision of Ezekiel is significant. There the Temple overtops the city, and it has a gate for ever shut, the gate by which the unapproachable God had gone in.[3] He must be for ever awfully alone. But the clearer-sighted Prophet of the New Testament breaks down this barrier; in his Jerusalem men throng round God. So again, "And they shall see His face."[4] The whole vision throbs with this fundamental enjoyment. Yet the silence of a passage in Paul is perhaps even more eloquent—"I knew a man in Christ fourteen years ago."[5] With this put John's quiet phrase, "This is life eternal that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ."[6] Worship lies at the heart of final bliss.

The second element in bliss is the enjoyment of mankind, for the Christian is no eremite but an inmate of God's universal home. Again and again above, as first one and

[1] Rev. xxi. 3 f. [2] Rev. xxi. 22. [3] Ezek. xliv. 1 f.
[4] Rev. xxii. 4. [5] 2 Cor. xii. 2 ff. [6] John xvii. 3.

then another kind of society has been considered, the axiom of the unity of man has appeared, but the closest of all unity marks the final society when mankind is "in Christ." Bliss must include the joy of human fellowship. A single text here will stand for many,[1]—"These things have I spoken unto you, that My joy may be in you, and that your joy may be fulfilled. This is My commandment, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you."[2]

For the perfection of this element in joy, Meekness is not only no hindrance but necessary. Only if all the members in any society know that each cares for others as well as for himself, can there be that abandon of the heart to mutual trust that gives all earth's best delights their consummation.[3] The nearest earthly instance to perfect bliss, here again, is home, and the actually perfect instance the joy of the Trinity. Far from mitigating happiness, Meekness is essential to its perfecting.

Again, the enjoyment of the fellowship of men just described naturally culminates in the enjoyment of God and blends with it. This is the burden of many texts.[4] True fellowship is only possible *at all* between two who have in some realm of human life—artistic, scientific, religious—the same ideal, and it can only be *entire* if they share a common ideal for the whole scope of life. Else, where they differ, the joy of one will sooner or later jar upon the other. Indeed, perfect fellowship is only possible between two who not only share the same ideal but attain it. So—as the only ideal adequate to man is to be like God, to love Him with the whole nature, to "be filled" with His spirit, to be one with Him—a perfect enjoyment of human fellowship waits upon the enjoyment of God. "That

[1] *e.g.* John xvi. 22, xvii. 13; Acts ii. 46, xiii. 52; Rom. xiv. 17; 2 Cor. i. 24; Gal. v. 22; 1 Peter i. 8; 1 John i. 4; 2 John 12.

[2] John xv. 9 ff.

[3] There is in Graham Balfour's account of Barbizon in his "Life of Robert Louis Stevenson," chap. vi., a description of a society of artists that in several ways "realised" the Christian theory of society—including the absence of all rule save that of Meekness, and of all penalty save expulsion, The writer once knew of a little club of "business men" whose one rule was that there should be no rules—only each member was asked always to think of the others.

[4] *e.g.* those in footnote 1 above.

which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us: yea, and our fellowship is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ: and these things we write, that our joy may be fulfilled." [1]

Christian bliss includes also the enjoyment of the universe of things. From the beginning the Bible treats the world as the workmanship of God and the home of man. Sin, indeed, has worked havoc in it, but "in Christ" there is to be a reconciliation of "all things" unto God, and this will include, not only "things in the heavens," but "things upon the earth." [2] In New Testament symbolism, while "fire" destroys all that is evil, it purifies what is good.[3] That which God created, that wherein Christ made His home, must have a place in a perfected joy.[4] Art and science, industry and invention, as well as religion, are the handmaids of the Kingdom.

Yet, in the New Testament, a perfect delight in the world of things always waits on the "restoration" or "regeneration" of the world of persons—the renewed κόσμος is a corollary of the renewed οἰκουμένη. The best single illustration is a well-known text of Paul's—"The earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God. For the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but by reason of Him who subjected it, in hope that the creation also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God." [5] The renewal of the world is the sequel of the renewal of man. When Righteousness is consummated, then also will prosperity be.

The "Parousia" and the Present

This doctrine has its ground in one of the most pervasive ideas of the New Testament—the "Parousia." Christ's

[1] 1 John i. 3 f.

[2] Col. i. 20.

[3] *e.g.* Matt. xix. 28; Acts iii. 21; 2 Peter iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1. *Cf.* Acts vii. 48-50; 1 Cor. x. 26; 1 Tim. iv. 4; John i. 3.

[4] John xiv. 2, upon a correct exegesis, counts this world one of the "rooms" (μοναί) in the "Father's house." *Cf.* Matt. v. 5; Acts iii. 21; Phil. iii. 21; Rev. xxi. 26.

[5] Rom. viii. 20 f.

Return is to herald a renewed mankind in a renewed world. The first hint of this was the Transfiguration; in it a chosen three saw foretold the physical consequence of a perfect manhood—"And He was transfigured before them." A second evidence was the risen Christ. This is not the place to discuss the difficult question of Christ's risen body and its nature, but it can hardly be doubted that the New Testament teaches that after death the perfect Man still partook of the material world, that indeed now first He reached its utter lordship. Before He too had been in part its prisoner, now it was altogether His organ. He was the first to enjoy a perfect human bliss in all its many-sided fulness, just because He was the first to attain a perfect manhood in God. In the New Testament, that is, "wealth" waits on "health," in both words' true breadth. A transformed man will transfigure his world.

Yet Christianity has encouragement too for to-day's eager reformer of the mere surroundings of men. The great passage from the Epistle to the Romans just quoted proceeds—"For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. And not only so, but we ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for our adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body."[1] In other words, even the saint cannot be perfected unless his environment be perfected too. Their redemption proceeds together. A king and his kingdom are complementary to each other. Similarly, Jesus wrought miracles because He redeems men's bodies as well as their souls, because His Gospel is to the whole man. They who rob Him of His miracles rob Him of His world. Still, He exercised a kind of parsimony in miracle. The great illustration of this is John's story of the Feeding of the Five Thousand.[2] The "multitude" wanted to reduce Him to a materialistic philanthropist. Let Him but repeat the miracle of the meal with the daily regularity of the ancient manna, and He should very willingly be

[1] Rom. viii. 22 f. [2] John vi.

their king! The account of Jesus' controversy with them—of His alienation of them indeed—shows how resolutely He refused such a *rôle*. He would not repeat pleasure for those who refused bliss. If he could not reach a man's soul, if He could not lead him to God, He refused to be the minister to his body's need. This is why miracles so usually depended on "faith." To those, on the other hand, who "seek first" God's kingdom, Jesus promised of the satisfactions of the body that "all these things shall be added." [1]

Here lies the explanation of the passages of the New Testament that praise present poverty. It was true in the first as in all ages of the Church that the poor welcomed the Gospel more readily than the rich.[2] Absorption in wealth hindered the latter, and reluctance to put it in a secondary place. Jesus had a teaching of asceticism—"If thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off." [3] A good thing, if it become a stumbling-block, is to be abandoned, and the story of the Rich Young Ruler applies this to wealth.[4] For him the task of entering the Kingdom rich was too hard—hence he must do so poor. He must "cut off" his "right hand!" None the less in the final realm the citizens are not one-handed, nor are they poor, and even now he who can accomplish the "hard" task—as hard as the passing of a camel through a needle's eye [5]—of using wealth in the service of God, is nearer to the perfect state of the Kingdom than one whose weakness needs to forgo riches that he may serve God. Yet there are many still who had better take the method of asceticism. The very rich are rarely chief saints. The New Testament teaches that if of two things one must go, it should be the secondary. None the less Jesus will ultimately put the camel through the needle's eye and create a mankind that is both righteous and rich.

[1] Matt. vi. 33.

[2] *e.g.* Luke vi. 20, 24, xvi. 14; 2 Cor. viii. 2; Rev. vi. 15; Jas. ii. 5.

[3] Mark ix. 43 ff.

[4] Probably wealth is brought under the very term "stumbling-block" in Luke xvii. 1-4, for there the preceding Chapter discusses its use and abuse. *Cf.* Jas. v. 1-6; Rev. iii. 17 f.

[5] Mark x. 25.

But why was Jesus Himself poor? Not of course because wealth would have been a stumbling-block to Him, but because Meekness bade that the perfect man should show that Christianity is already, in its essential part, universally practicable. A rich man had not easily been a universal model. And Jesus Himself exemplifies also the success of His method. He sought first the Kingdom of God, and now "all things are added" unto Him,[1]—He is "King of Kings and Lord of Lords." Nor is this true of Him alone—"He became poor that ye through His poverty might become rich."[2] He was made "in all things like unto His brethren" that they might in all things be made like unto Him. In "heaven" there are no poor, for all there can be trusted to be rich. So in the New Testament, while there is drastic condemnation indeed of that flat contradiction of Meekness, "covetousness,"[3] there is no mere girding at wealth. A Christian might be rich.[4] A tool elevated into an idol must be broken in pieces, but at last the pieces shall be refashioned into a tool. The description in the Apocalypse of the evil wealth of the "Great Harlot" City[5] gives place to that of another whose gates are pearl, her foundations precious stones, her very streets gold! The City of God is rich because in her use riches are in the true sense "wealth."

The Reciprocity of Bliss

It has not been possible to discuss bliss without trenching upon one of the subjects omitted here, wealth. A full account of New Testament teaching about prosperity would require a further examination of this and of its correlate poverty. It would require too the exposition of primitive Christian doctrine about two other correlative

[1] Matt. vi. 33; Luke xii. 22 ff.; Matt. vi. 19-24.

[2] 2 Cor. viii. 9.

[3] *e.g.* Luke xii. 15; Eph. v. 3; *cf.* Acts xvi. 19; 1 Tim. iii. 3, vi. 5-10; Titus i. 11; 2 Peter ii. 3; Heb. xiii. 5.

[4] *e.g.* 1 Tim. vi. 17; Jas. i. 10. Ramsay has shown that Paul himself in his later life was probably at least "well to do."

[5] Rev. xviii. 11 ff.

ideas, leisure and toil. These also, however, are left on one side in this book. Here it must suffice to add two inter-related remarks. The first is, that though in earlier Sections the love of self has been set beside the love of others and of God, yet here, where the enjoyment of others and of God are discussed, there has been no mention of "enjoying one's self." The reason is that bliss *as a whole* is an account of the joy proper to true self-realisation. "Eternal Life," the final account of individual prosperity, is just the enjoyment of God, persons, things, as a single and personal, though mutual, joy. He who "loses his own life" as a separable aim, "finds" it hidden in "life eternal." Secondly, no man's bliss can be entire until "that which is perfect is come."[1] If a society have none but perfect members, then indeed their common Meekness ministers to their unalloyed joy, but if only one be imperfect, his imperfection postpones his fellows' unsullied bliss until he too "attain unto a perfect man." Every "member's" perfect Meekness is necessary to every other's perfect bliss. Any one man's happiness to be complete requires a perfect world. So that for the present no Christian can be entirely happy, and there is temporary truth in the charge that the meek know only a partial delight. Any who can "enjoy himself" utterly while another is imperfect, has not the complete Spirit of Christ. Rather, for that other he will choose to deny himself. Others' imperfection made Jesus the "Man of Sorrows." On the other hand, a selfish happiness—even though its selfishness were but the exclusion of a single distant alien from the common joy—could not be permanent, for only the perfect is permanent. Ultimately it would be discovered that without the solitary outcast mankind could not be made perfect, that there was still a flaw in the society's welfare, that it was impoverished of his ministry. Only when an utter Meekness is the universal practice

[1] *Cf.* pp. 270, 283 ff. That God none the less enjoys eternal bliss depends upon the fact that He is not subject, like men here, to the limiting condition of time. Eternity is not so much the endless prolongation of time as a new "category" that transcends it. When God in Christ submitted to time, His bliss too was not entire; rather, He was "Man of Sorrows."

can there come the final bliss. Meanwhile the Christian, just in so far as he is a true Christian, willingly undergoes a vicarious sorrow. He endures the cross, despising the shame, for he knows that through the unity of mankind it is possible that one man bear another's burdens,[1] and that, if for others he "suffers with" Christ, he shall also "be glorified" with Him.[2] Bliss must be mutual or perish. Until the joy of all is consummated, the joy of each is "touched with pain." Heaven is not a mutilated home.[3]

Section G.—The Fatherhood of God

The unity of the final social doctrine of the Bible has again and again appeared in the Sections of this Chapter. They discuss, indeed, but different sides of one thing. The definitions of the perfect individual and the perfect society were found to be one; their common nature proved to be the solution of the root problem of their interrelation; Meekness is just the temper of both; and bliss the joy of Meekness' success. The Kingdom of Heaven has no accidental or external unity. It is organically one. If it were to be robbed of a single element, its loss would not be merely arithmetical; it would be maimed.

The best single phrase explanatory of this unity is the Fatherhood of God. It is true that this abstract expression does not itself occur in the New Testament, but neither do others of the great terms under which Christian thought has summed the teaching of Scripture.[4] The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God has sometimes been called the foundation doctrine of Christian theology; it is certainly the last word of Christian sociology.

[1] Gal. vi. 2.

[2] Rom. viii. 17. *Cf. e.g.* 2 Cor. i. 6; Col. i. 24.

[3] Here, as elsewhere, this Section seems to require that in the future world every man shall find a place, *i.e.* it appears "Universalist." It is not possible to discuss the question here, but the writer holds that about it, as about some other ultimate problems, the nearest approximation to truth possible to human thought is by antinomy,—*i.e.* by a statement formally contradictory. He believes both in "eternal punishment" and in the universal victory of the love of God.

[4] *Cf.* p. 278, footnote 1. Eph. iii. 15 almost uses this phrase.

This may be shown in two ways—by the study of the New Testament use of the word "Father" and its correlative phrases "children of God," "sons of God," and by the examination of the relation of the one idea of the Divine Fatherhood to each of the other ideas constituent of the Final Ideal.

A Pervasive Idea

Some of the principal instances of the use of the phrases "children of God" and "sons of God" to describe the Christian ideal for the *individual* have already been named.[1] The term "Father," pervading the expository parts of the New Testament—Synoptic, Pauline, Johannine alike—is found often in similar descriptions. For example, it occurs seventeen times in the Matthæan Sermon on the Mount, that fontal discourse relating every man's behaviour to "[his] Father which is in heaven." Similarly, the crucial passages in the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans explain the Christianity of the individual by the one word "Father"—"God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father";[2] Peter, calling "each man" among the believers to "fear," grounds the admonition on the remembrance "Ye call on [God] as Father";[3] the writer to the Hebrews puts the same truth in his own way—to him God is the "Father of our spirits";[4] the Apocalypse extends David's ancient prerogative to each lowly saint—"I will be his God and he shall be My son";[5] and John's prologue says the last great word—"As many as received Him, to them He gave the right to become children of God."[6] The Bible's high doctrine of the individual bases here.

It is as easy to show the connexion of the word "Father" with the Christian *society*. It lies behind such sayings as this—"Every plant which My heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up";[7] the Holy Spirit, without which the Apostles were forbidden

[1] See p. 242.
[2] Gal. iv. 6; *cf.* Rom. viii. 15 ff.
[3] 1 Peter i. 17.
[4] Heb. xii. 9.
[5] Rev. xxi. 7.
[6] John i. 12.
[7] Matt. xv. 13.

to advance to the founding of the Church, is called the "promise of the Father";[1] Paul in a typical greeting describes the Thessalonian believers as a "church in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ";[2] "to us," he says again, "there is one God, the Father";[3] similarly it was "the Father" who "translated" the Colossian Christians "into the kingdom of the Son of His love";[4] John interprets Caiaphas' "prophecy" to mean that Jesus by His death should "gather together into one the children of God that are scattered abroad";[5] the salutation that has daily united the prayers of the sundered Christians of the whole earth from the beginning until now is "Our Father which art in heaven"; the two great passages in the Sermon on the Mount about Meekness and bliss base them on the Divine Fatherhood.[6] To pursue the term "Father" in the New Testament is to show again how the Christian concept of society cannot be severed from that of the individual. Hardly a text's exposition but would include them both. The term pervades the records.

An Integrating Idea

To hunt a word through the New Testament, however, is only useful as a guide to the ideas that it connotes, and the quotations just given but prepare the way for the second method of showing that the idea of the Fatherhood of God unifies the different elements in the concept of the Kingdom. Each of them, so to speak, inheres in it. In the account of the perfect individual, for instance, this idea, everywhere implied, became twice explicit.[7] So too, while it was shown that each of the three definitions of the Christian man—that he be like God, that he be like Christ, that he have the "Spirit"—is synonymous with the others, the ground of their equivalence is the Fatherhood of God. For in the New Testament, the

[1] Acts i. 4. [2] 1 Thess. i. 1. [3] 1 Cor. viii. 6.
[4] Col. i. 12 f. [5] John xi. 52.
[6] Matt. v. 43-48, vi. 26-34; for the latter add Luke xii. 32; *cf.* Matt. vi. 14 f., vii. 7-11. [7] See pp. 242, 252 f.

gross associations of early ethnic notions of the parentage of gods being of course entirely absent, the Divine Fatherhood is altogether spiritual and a child of God is just one who shares the Father's Spirit;[1] so he cannot but be like both the Father Himself and that Father's Son. The Divine Fatherhood explains all. Through it, again, it comes to pass that what is "hidden from the wise and prudent" is "revealed unto babes," for the spirit of a home easily teaches what study toils after in vain. For instance a child unconsciously attains a nicety in its mother-tongue that an alien can never reach. So a child of God, "born from above," naturally "enters into" His Kingdom.[2] It is his home.

Again, in the third Section above three definitions are given of the Christian society. Of these the first, the "Kingdom of God," was found to be borrowed from the environment of Christianity's birth. Jesus rather defined than created the phrase—defining it often in ways corrective of current opinion—and His definition ran up into the idea of Fatherhood. While the term "Kingdom" was His teaching's starting-point, the term "Father" was its goal. God is indeed king in the Kingdom of Heaven, but only in the sense in which a father is incoercive monarch in a true home. The whole discussion of this Chapter shows that in the New Testament "Father" explains what is meant by "King," and not "King" what is meant by "Father."

For the connexion of the second definition of the perfect society, "in Christ," with the Divine Fatherhood it is best to quote a text of Paul's—"All things are yours . . . and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's,"[3]—and to remember that Jesus' unique place in Scripture is explained by His Sonship. It is a theological doctrine, sure though its elucidation is out of place here, that the Christian is God's son "in Him." The third

[1] "Spirit" and "Father" occur often in the same context—*e.g.* Matt. x. 20, xv. 13; Luke x. 21, xi. 13; Acts i. 4, ii. 33; Gal. iv. 6; Rom. viii. 15-17; Tit. iii. 5-7; John xv. 26.

[2] John iii. 3.

[3] 1 Cor. iii. 21-23.

definition of the Christian society—that it is the society of the Holy Spirit—is just a paraphrase of the spiritual kind of fatherhood.

The fourth Section dealt with the harmony of the individual and society. Here it is enough to note that the Trinity was found to be the ultimate pattern of the Christian society and that its first term implies the other two.[1] There remain the Sections on Meekness and bliss. The first showed that it is each true Christian's endeavour to secure the perfection of every other, the second that true joy also is mutual. Why? Because all true men—all Christians—are one. How one? Because they are members of the same family, children of the same Father.[2] The Fatherhood of God, rightly drawn out, gives New Testament sociology its unity.

An Explanatory Idea

It also gives Old Testament sociology its *rationale*. An end, it explains the beginning; the goal, it accounts for the path. It is true that the student may find more or less obscure anticipations of the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God in every real society, Gentile as well as Jewish, and that so far the Christian theory of society "fulfils," not only "the law and the prophets," but all other partial societies. Still, the direct ancestry of Jesus is in Israel; its was the acorn that grew into the oak. It hardly needs saying that the distinctive social postulate of the Old Testament finds its true issue in the Divine Fatherhood, for it has often been repeated above that the Hebrew continually held that the basal social relation is the relation to God. The Early Ideal made sure that this was right by ignoring all other relations; next Israel slowly brought the varying relations of one man to another under its sway; lastly, the Final Ideal explained its dominance in sociology by

[1] See p. 276.

[2] "These two lessons of the Fatherhood of God, to care for others and to put away over-care for ourselves."—Peile, "The Reproach of the Gospel," p. 97.

exhibiting its true nature. The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God makes the social theory, not only of the New Testament, but of the whole Bible, one.

Once more, it "fulfils," and so explains, not only the leading tenet of the Old Testament as a whole, but the tenets distinctive of its several epochs. The Early Ideal, for instance, portrays an individual and God. What was the relation between the two? It could not yet be *defined* as sonship, for the sexual theory of the sonship of gods was rife in Israel's environment, yet it *was* sonship. A good attempt at definition was made when Abraham was called the "friend" of God,[1] yet the term falters. "Friendship" means too much, for it suggests equality; it means too little, for with all its tenderness it is not a close enough bond to live by. The true account of Abraham's relation to God is spiritual sonship.

In the next period, that of the Democracy of Families, Israel began to be called Jehovah's "son,"[2] and its leading social doctrine was the brotherhood of the families of Israel—a brotherhood including all Hebrew homes, and none else, precisely because they alone shared a common relation to Jehovah. Here again the Divine Fatherhood was really fundamental.

The era of the Kings followed, the greatest of the Old Testament. Yet it was greatest, not because in it David made Israel strong, nor because in it Solomon built the Temple, but because the Prophets then asserted the lordship of Righteousness in life. They were busier with the assertion itself than with the scrutiny of its grounds, yet these already began to be found in the creed that a true man's life ought to reproduce the Righteousness of his God.[3] But why ought a man to be like God? And upon what does a fellow-man's right to justice, faithfulness, mercy, peace, base? The answer to the first question is, "God is every man's Father," and to the second—"And his fellow's Father too."

The last of Old Testament epochs developed the truth of the worth of the individual. In other words, it

[1] Is. xli. 8. [2] Ex. iv. 22. [3] See p. 128.

taught personality. It did not rise to the height of its own discovery—refusing sometimes, for instance, full personality to woman, and allowing to outward law too near an equality with spirit—but these defects the New Testament was to remedy. Personality itself the men of the Return recognised, and of this the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God alone gives an adequate account. For why is every man an "end in himself," as the doctrine of personality asserts? Just because he is a "partaker in the Divine nature." How should he be a tool? Throughout the Sections of this Chapter many other illustrations have been given of the way in which the Final Ideal "fulfilled" Old Testament theory.[1] The Bible is one book, not two, and its subject is "Father."

There is no better illustration than the history of Israel of the modern historian's axiom that a nation's story is not a mere set of events, or series of accidents, but the evolution of the ideal that the nation embodies. It is true that the logic of history is slow and often tortuous, true too that one nation rarely or never brings its own ideal to fruition uninfluenced by other nations, yet the story of Israel approximates as closely as any to isolation, and, spite all set-backs, its seed grew to flower and fruit. "Now the Lord said unto Abraham," "There came a voice from heaven saying, This is My beloved Son"—these records are organically one. They are the Alpha and the Omega of Israel's sociology. With the latter Israel's long evolution was complete.

[1] *e.g.* on pp. 234, 242, 246 ff., 251 f., 260 f., 266, 268, 276, 290 ff., 292.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW TESTAMENT: THE MEANWHILE

The Toleration and Use of Imperfect Institutions.—"Class Distinctions."—The State.—The Family.—The Church.

Section A.—The Toleration and Use of Imperfect Institutions

The Intolerance and Tolerance of Christianity

The first disciples cherished the brave hope that the "Kingdom of God should immediately appear." Instead for almost two millenniums there has been a slow and toilsome evolution. And still the world is in a thousand ways imperfect. Yet the Christian must spend his life therein. So he must discover the way in which one who cherishes a high ideal is to behave in the midst of an imperfect world. How shall he treat its institutions? Shall he conform to them, attack them, or seek to reform them? Shall he treat some of them in one way and some in another? To let them alone is both inconsistent in theory—for Christianity sets out precisely to redeem mankind—and impossible in practice—"for then must ye needs go out of the world."[1] Every idealist "in earnest" must define the relation of his ideal to the imperfect present.

The problem had of course faced the Hebrew teacher before the Christian, and his chief contribution to its solution was the admission of the principle of Accommodation.[2] The Prophets did not reduce this to exact statement, for they cared nothing for the articulation of theory, but they practised the principle none the less, applying it, for instance, both to undeserved privilege[3]

[1] 1 Cor. v. 10. [2] See pp. 159 ff. [3] See pp. 168 ff.

and to undeserved disadvantage.[1] The New Testament treatment of the institutions of the imperfect present applies the principle further.

Christianity is in one way intolerant, in another tolerant. Its one intolerance is imperious. It wages inexorable war against any social institution that forbids the free enjoyment of God. This does not mean that it seeks to enforce worship upon the unwilling—for it knows that it is impossible to enforce worship—but that it gives itself to persuade men to that worship, and that it bids every Christian rather die than forgo it. That is to say, Christianity is naturally missionary, and as naturally prolific of martyrs. Christians claim two rights—to enjoy for themselves, and to commend to their fellows, the glory of God's fellowship. They will part with neither right. In defence of both throughout the centuries Christ's true followers have been indomitable. For them every rule—from the code of "common courtesy" [2] to duty to home [3]—has yielded to this. The challenge of the first witnesses has never ceased ringing—"We must obey God rather than men." [4] So—to name a signal instance—when Rome banned Christianity, the tiny, infant Nazarene sect pitted its Meekness against her might—and won. The Apocalypse proved a true prophecy—the "Lamb" overcame the "Wild Beast." The Christian brooks no prohibition to worship his God or to preach his Christ. Here Meekness discovers how iron it is. The "Old Covenant" demanded for all the few within it—even the woman and the slave—the opportunity of the worship of Jehovah; the New, seeking to embrace mankind, requires for every man of every nation the better opportunity of the enjoyment of God. So the way to the Ideal shall open to all.

This one thing being granted, Christianity will for a time tolerate almost anything—account being taken, not only of the Christianity of the New Testament, but of its preparations in the Old. The whole discussion of Old Testament teaching has shown that Biblical sociology

[1] See pp. 213 ff.
[2] Luke x. 4.
[3] Matt. x. 37.
[4] Acts v. 29.

proceeds by evolution. This word has no meaning apart from the temporary tolerance of the imperfect. So in Hebrew ethics, at different stages of growth, polygamy, deceit, human sacrifice, and slavery, were all permitted.[1] Nor is this tolerance to be confined to inherited imperfect institutions, for at any stage there may be need of the creation of a new institution, useful though imperfect. As a building rises there is need of new scaffolding. Only when it is complete, can every prop disappear. The use of the admittedly imperfect is perpetually necessary in an imperfect world.

There is, however, a complementary truth—that in the end Christianity will tolerate no imperfection at all. This is simply to say that it believes in an ideal that will some day be realised. "When that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away."[2] If evolution mean the temporary tolerance of the imperfect, it also means its ultimate extinction.

The evolution of religion was completed in Jesus, for in Him the perfect relation of a man to God was realised. Towards this the whole Old Testament had moved—after this the religious task of the Church was but to study and to preach Christ. In religion "The fulness of the time" came with Him.[3] But, while religious evolution reached its climax with the Christ, social evolution, the consequence of religious, was far from complete. That proceeds slowly still, and only when it too is finished, will the perfect state begin. The task of Christendom is to discover the full consequences for the relation of men to each other of the primary relation of each Christian to God. It is the postulate of all the New Testament passages about "that day" and "the consummation of the age" that social evolution will reach perfection in another "fulness of time."[4] The second evolution will complete the first, a perfect society at last ensue from the perfect Man.

[1] *e.g.* pp. 14 f., 94 ff., 79 ff. *Cf.* Acts xiv. 16, xvii. 30.
[2] 1 Cor. xiii. 10.
[3] Gal. iv. 4; *cf.* for instance Luke x. 23 f.; Acts vii. 13, 17 ff.; Heb. i. 1 f., xi. 13, 40.
[4] See pp. 292 ff.

Upon the two truths that Christianity will for a while tolerate imperfect social institutions, yet that it will sooner or later discard them, a third follows. All imperfections will not simultaneously disappear on a sudden climax of perfection. Evolution is growth, and in growth more imperfect stages give way to less imperfect. This is most clearly true in nature, where the imperfect is not the sinful but only the immature. There the blade supplants the seed, the flower the blade. But, though human life knows imperfection by sin as well as immaturity, the law holds for it as well. In Christian history the "wrong," first of one old custom, and then of another, has come to be seen as their inconsistency with the requirements of religion has been discerned. In other words—since one man "sins" against another when he deals with him otherwise than God permits—as God's ideal for man slowly unfolds, actions that once were innocent become guilty. The deceit that was blameless in Jacob had been damnable in Ezra; Abraham's polygamy were sin in a Christian; David's destruction of the Ammonite or the Philistine would have been an "abomination" to the author of "Jonah"; Paul had reached the high conviction that it is wrong to set one's enemies "by the ears" to save oneself;[1] Moses' law of divorce will some day become an anachronism.[2]

The Judgement of Institutions

A difficult question now emerges. It is clear that the same practice may be tolerated rightly at one stage in the evolution of society, but wrongly at another—that what is lawful in an early age may be wrong in a later—that there is truth in the doctrine of the "relativity" of morals. How shall the customs that are tolerable for a particular age be discriminated? How, for instance, shall a man of the Twentieth Century know the practices

[1] Acts xxiii. 12 ff., xxiv. 21.
[2] *Cf.* Mark x. 5.

that he must abandon though they were allowable in the Nineteenth ?[1]

The only answer to these questions is that each individual is responsible for making his own decisions. Sometimes, indeed, not an individual but a society reaches a decision, yet each of its members has still the right of protest, and, if protest fail, he may either desert the society or rebel within it.[2] Fundamentally Christianity throws the responsibility of decision altogether upon the individual. If the perfect society cannot coerce its meanest member, how shall an imperfect one ? A Luther will defy Church and Empire both. It is the severe corollary of the final value of the individual that each man is the ultimate interpreter of the ideal for himself. Finally his one judge is God.[3] It is true that partly he inherits his ideal from the past, and partly derives it from his environment—but it is also true that partly he fashions it himself, and it is he that makes it as a whole his own. It is his duty to submit to any social institution that he finds to be consistent with the will of God, and to no other. If any current social custom be abhorrent to his "conscience," he ought to refuse its practice, and, if society attempt to enforce conformity, to suffer and if need be to die for his conviction. It may be that he is mistaken—then he suffers for his mistake ; or he may be right and society wrong—then he suffers for the ideal. Nothing can rob the individual of responsibility for his own conduct.

Not only is this the inevitable consequence of the Christian theory of the individual, but it exhibits the method of social progress. It is never a whole society, but always one or a few individuals within it, who discover that some ancient custom is inconsistent with the ideal. On such discovery true men at the least abstain from it, but, if their love of the ideal—in Christian terms, their love of God—be strong, a silent abstinence does not content

[1] *Cf.* for instance Acts xvii. 30. How difficult decision may sometimes be appears from Paul's discussion of several "cases" in 1 Cor. (chaps. vii., viii., ix., xi.).

[2] *e.g.* Luke xii. 49 ff. ; Heb. xi. 26. *Cf.* pp. 330 ff.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 235, 246 f.

them, and they become the crusaders of progress. It is the part of their fellows to examine their protest and to see "whether these things be so." Crusaders may so win others to their opinion—or others may kill them for it. Sometimes, while they are "witnesses"—that is "martyrs"—in their own conviction, they are fanatics in the judgement of contemporaries. Only the future decides which opinion is right. The pagan Roman saw no harm in the Gladiatorial Shows, and they continued for almost a century after Constantine gave the Empire a nominal Christianity, but Christian teachers continually protested, and at last the monk Telemachus flung himself between the combatants and was stoned to death.[1] No doubt many contemporaries honestly thought him a fanatical fool! Later ages hail him a martyr, and date from his deed the spread of the common conviction that to kill in sport is inconsistent with the Christian concept of the worth of man. This illustration is typical. It is by the crusade of individuals that society advances step by step towards its goal.

The conflict, however, is not usually so simple as the contest between a single man and a society, or so short as a single man's life. Generally the conviction that the day has come for the abolition or alteration or creation of some social institution, forces itself upon a number of men's minds at once. They usually combine for their purpose of attack, and the contest becomes one between a new, smaller society and an old, larger one. Little by little the small may win upon the large; even of those who do not join it, many may become passively disposed in its favour; victory may befall at last in a crisis of struggle; yet to those who have eyes to see, there is no surprise. A thunderstorm astonishes the unwary by its suddenness, but the meteorologist knows that it has been gathering for hours or even days. Evolution and climax are by no means inconsistent.[2] The devotion of Telemachus was no solitary phenomenon; it had had a long preparation in

[1] Lecky, "History of European Morals," ii. p 37.
[2] *Cf.* Luke xvii. 20-37.

the teaching of the Christian Church—and not in its teaching only, for the martyr's active protest had had quiet anticipation in many Christians' significant absence from Gladiatorial Shows. The monk was a wave's crest.

It is evident that the judgement of institutions falls, not only to those who attack them, but to those who defend. When once a few have drawn the sword, the many must decide whether they will oppose. No Christian can altogether escape the prerogative of the judgement of progress, for still to practise a custom whose further service for the inbringing of the Kingdom is questioned, is to support it. It is true that a peculiar burden falls upon those who control a society—whether they be king, hierarchy, "people," or any other—for they decide whether the society shall welcome, tolerate, or reject a proposed change, but here too every man none the less bears also "his own burden." He may decide otherwise than his society if he choose. As the crusader has judged him, so now he must judge the crusader. And ultimately the responsibility of both is religious. Neither can decline the great fate of being a man.

Yet this is not to absolve societies from responsibility. At the summons of the crusader they too must make their choice, and abide by its doom. Usually this means that the society follows the opinion of those who control it—whether, again, these be the majority of members, a few, or only one—yet it has ever the alternative, if persuaded of its rulers' vice or error, to displace, expel, or execute them. Then they, in their turn, may become "protestant." This fate they too, if they be "conscientious," will willingly suffer, for they also are finally answerable only to God. The New Testament has examples of such struggle for leadership in Paul's contest with the Judaisers, and the Apocalyptic seer's with the "Nicolaitans." It is, of course, true that a large part of the Christian Church teaches that the individual ought always to submit his judgement to that of the society, that the single Christian must unhesitatingly obey the Church, and that independence about questions on which she has pronounced is sin. It

would be useless as well as tedious to repeat the old argument here. It must suffice to say that the writer cannot find any warrant for such blind obedience in the New Testament. While, of course, the wise Christian will seek and weigh his brethren's judgement before he contest a received opinion, and while he will especially hesitate to contradict the Church, yet the whole nature of the Christian ideal requires that he decide for himself.[1] It is true that the Apostles frequently claim for the Church the right to expel individuals, but they admit also the right of the individual to leave the Church. The liberty both of society and of each member is axiomatic. Throughout the New Testament the Church's bond is always the voluntary unity of the free. Both to the single man and to the society there is a conditional promise of inerrancy—"Ye have an anointing from the Holy One . . . and ye need not that any one teach you"; [2] "Receive ye the Holy Spirit: whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them." [3] Each text has its own difficulty, but it is clear that if both individual and society were indeed "filled with" the one "Spirit," the promises would harmonise.[4] Meanwhile each individual must take his own responsibility, and each society its own.

The Root Question about Imperfect Institutions—and the Various Answers

The question follows—By what rules shall an individual or a society be guided in its treatment of current social institutions? Which shall be accepted, which altered, which declined, which destroyed?

It is easy to state the general principle that will guide the answer. Christianity's ultimate aim being the realisation of the Kingdom of God, the Christian will judge every imperfect institution in relation to that. He will seek to destroy any that has become a hindrance, however

[1] *Cf.* pp. 235 ff., 268 ff.
[2] 1 John ii. 20, 27; *cf.* John vii. 17; Rom. xiv. 4, 10 ff.
[3] John xx. 22 f.
[4] See pp. 268 ff.

useful for the Kingdom's ends it may have once been; he will seek to alter any, however venerable, which by alteration will become more useful tools of the Kingdom or better embody any of its elements; he will endeavour to create a new institution, if thereby the ideal may more quickly be hastened. All other social institutions are for Christianity but ministerial to the Kingdom; they all fall under the principle of Accommodation; its test of them is purely "pragmatic."

Yet, though this principle be so clear, opinion will differ much about its application. It is easy to deduce from it useful rules, but they all have exceptions! For instance, two New Testament writers make a capital application of one of the rules of Accommodation—the rule that even a useful tool is to be discarded upon its own success[1]—for this is just the argument of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews about Judaism.[2] Yet the form of their argument requires that there were Christians who held that the use of Judaism had not yet passed. So to-day, those who agree that the divisions of the Church have saved pure religion in the past, differ whether it is necessary or useful that they continue longer. Similarly, while the doctrine of the Stumbling-Block—that even a good thing is to be forgone if it be a means of evil—finds full assertion in the New Testament,[3] it is none the less true that in the end every stumbling-block will be a stone in the temple, that every good thing will be brought into the service of God. Judgement will ever differ whether abstinence or redemption be the better immediate policy. For instance, both opinions are held by Christians to-day about the theatre. Side by side with this principle

[1] See pp. 159 ff.

[2] Paul does not say this quite so explicitly as his fellow author, and he himself still conformed in things indifferent to the old religion (*e.g.* Acts xx. 16, xxi. 22 ff.; *cf.* xvi. 3), but his argument that "in Christ" there is "neither Jew nor Greek" really required that neither for the Hebrew nor the alien was conformity to Judaism essential. *Cf.*, too, 2 Cor. iii. 11; Gal. ii. 11 ff.; Col. ii. 17; Acts x. 28, xiii. 46. The writer to the Hebrews roundly concluded that the old dispensation was "waxing old" and "nigh unto vanishing away" (Heb. viii. 13). Unlike Paul, he was face to face with the Destruction of Jerusalem. *Cf.* pp. 331 f.

[3] See p. 298.

runs that of Fasting—that it is wise and even necessary to forgo a lower kind of good to secure a higher—but the obstinate question remains how far such abstinence is to go. For instance, a Christian must forgo sport if he cannot find time both for sport and prayer, but shall prayer absorb the whole of leisure or how much? Another obvious rule is that there must be no retrogression in social progress, and that therefore no outgrown institution is to be revived, yet an old institution may have been abandoned in error, and it may sometimes well return. In Jesus' day the custom of "Corban" had wrongly displaced the Fifth Commandment.[1] Was Wesley wise or not in seeking to revive the early Christian "Lovefeast?" Did not the Christian Sunday revive what was good in the "Sabbath?" Or, to take an extreme illustration, did not Milton conscientiously believe that there ought to be "honest liberty" in divorce? Similarly, Christians may even disagree whether any particular institution is consistent with religion at all or not. The Society of Friends maintains, for instance, that it is not, nor ever has been, "lawful that a Christian man bear arms." So, too, some may think a given reform practicable now, others may postpone it to the future. The Mediæval priests often urged upon a dying lord the manumission of his serfs, but they would have hesitated at the opinion that serfdom should be entirely abolished. The Monasteries themselves had serfs.

It is plain that there is scope here for a kind of casuistry of society, and that, like other casuistries, it would feed upon itself and never be complete. The reason is that in an imperfect state life cannot be entirely logical. Only the Kingdom of Heaven will be perfectly consistent. Until it come, practical life must admit "illogical" compromise. It is therefore by no means necessarily ridiculous that Christendom sometimes teach two mutually inconsistent practices—that it admit, for instance, that "it is lawful for a Christian man to bear arms," yet usually discourage the enlistment of Ministers of religion. But

[1] Mark vii. 10 ff.

it follows that no exhaustive answer can be given to the question, " By what rules shall a Christian deal with the imperfect social institutions of his environment ? " Even if an answer were found complete for current institutions, every new one would bring a new problem. All that can be done is to illustrate the application of the root question—" How far does this institution minister to the Kingdom ? "—in some representative instances. Those proper here would be the ones named in the New Testament. While some of these fall outside the scope of this book, enough remain to serve as types. The quality distinctive of the Christian treatment of all is the application of Meekness to their problems.

Forerunners of the Perfect Society

Before they are treated separately two of their common characteristics may be noted. The first is that each of them embodies, spite its imperfection, some element found also in the perfect society. It is " ministerial " in two senses—as preparing the way of the Kingdom, and as its partial anticipation. In some way, great or small, obvious or secret, it defines the Christian ideal. Probably this is true, not only of the few social organs mentioned in the New Testament, but of every social institution justifiable for the furtherance of an ultimate perfection. A true tool is itself in its degree a work of art.

The other characteristic is that the New Testament gives to social institutions, other than the Kingdom, only secondary and incidental treatment. For it they are subsidiary to the ideal society and they receive no separate or exhaustive discussion. It deals with them as a treatise about sculpture might deal with tools, or as an account of the painting of a masterpiece with the " studies " preparatory to its parts. Of Jesus Himself it is peculiarly true that He gave His strength to nothing but the Kingdom.

There are, however, two partial exceptions in the Epistles. There the Church does sometimes seem to take the principal place. Yet, if there had been any intention

of giving a complete account of the Church, it is strange that so much should have been left uncertain. For instance, have not the advocates of three different theories of Church government all found their originals in the New Testament? In reality, as will appear below,[1] the New Testament passages that treat at length of the nature of the Church, deal with it, not as an instrument of the Kingdom, but as if it were the Kingdom. Here indeed it holds a peculiar place among imperfect institutions. No other so nearly anticipates the Ideal. But to the Church on its merely instrumental side, so to say, the Biblical writers give no more attention than the necessity of their times demanded,[2] and it remains true that the New Testament spends itself on the individual and the Kingdom.[3]

The other exception is the treatment of the Hebrew law and temple in the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews. Here there is a typical and therefore valuable illustration of the way in which Christendom is to treat current social institutions—of their providence, their use, their limitation, their supersession, their abandonment. Yet even in these two Epistles the writers' primary interest is not the Law or the Temple but the Gospel. Their arguments' aim is to make plain the way of the Kingdom.

It may seem to some that the discussion of "practical social problems" below is too short and cursory, but a study of the Bible's social doctrine should give these problems no more than the relative importance assigned them in Scripture. One of the New Testament's assumptions is that, if the people of Christ rightly understand and practise His principles, they will age by age be able to discover for themselves the right use of everything. So, while the treatment of the individual and the Kingdom in the New Testament has the quality of "timelessness," and while its doctrines about them belong therefore to every age, it only deals with other social questions in the terms of its own epoch. In them the Apostles' interest was "temporary," in man and the Kingdom "eternal." The complete application of Christian principle to to-day's

[1] See pp. 343 ff. [2] *Cf.* p. 352. [3] See p. 235.

social problems, spite its importance, does not belong here, for it lies outside the Bible. All that this Chapter attempts is to show from the New Testament's incidental treatment of some social problems the Christian way with all.

Section B.—"Class Distinctions"

There is in the world a great deal of work that must be done, yet nobody wants to do it. On the other hand, for every man there are some things that he would choose to do, if he could. All, indeed, would not select the same things, but every man would like to be able to select. One of the prizes of the man of ability is that, more or less completely, he wins the right to make this choice. He, more than others, can do as he likes. Not only so—he can usually hand on this liberty to his children. And, while through some service to mankind he himself may have "deserved" to enjoy this advantage, with them it is altogether undeserved. The children of the "average man," on the contrary, and still more of the incapable man, inherit an undeserved disadvantage. They are bound to irksome tasks because their father was. Able men among them may escape the necessity, but these are the exception. From the combination of these two facts—that most men must undertake unwelcome work while a few escape it, and that each man usually hands on his privilege or disability to his children—"Class distinctions" spring. They depend partly upon the phenomena of toil and partly upon the phenomena of birth. This is peculiarly clear of the greatest of "Class distinctions," that between the bond and the free. Slavery was just mankind's earliest device for getting the world's unwelcome work done. And most slaves were born slaves. The subject of toil, however—including slavery—is left on one side here. Yet the other element in the concept of "Class" is perhaps the more distinctive. Society is divided into "Classes" in the main because some men are *born* to do as they like, others *born* to do as they must. Or rather—since in actual life distinctions are never

absolute—the root fact is that some are *born* to many liberties and few coercions, others *born* to many coercions and few liberties. What has Christianity to say about Class distinctions?

If the Christian doctrine of work were examined, it would be found that "at the end of the days" all unwelcome work is to cease. The method of this consummation is not described in the New Testament, but this is the goal. When it is reached, all "Class distinctions" will lapse. For in the final society the work of occupations that all dislike will be compassed in some other way than by human toil, while of other occupations every man will choose which he likes. Birth will not bind him to any distasteful task. He will be what God made him to be. Distinctions will remain, of course, but not "Class" distinctions, for the sting of coercion will be gone. Nor will any "vaunt himself" because of any "superiority" in his calling, for this would be to contradict the Meekness that is the very temper of the Final Ideal. In perfect brotherhood rank will die. This is the logic of the constant Bible maxim that there is "no respect of persons with God."[1] Meanwhile, the same Meekness, already at work, will rule the Christian in his treatment of "Class distinctions" now.[2] Whether his be an undeserved advantage or disadvantage, he will use it for ministry. Both carry responsibility, as the Old Testament had already taught,[3] and both fall under its principle of Accommodation. Some of the details of the New Testament application of this principle in the sphere of "Class" may be noticed.

In the New Testament the "leading instance" of the misuse of an inherited privilege is that of the Jewish race as a whole. It proposed to use its knowledge of the true God, not for the good of His world-wide Kingdom, but for its own benefit. This, however, was a racial and not a

[1] For the New Testament see Rom. ii. 19; Eph. vi. 9; Col. iii. 25; Jas. ii. 19; 1 Peter i. 17; *cf.* Mark x. 31; Luke xi. 27 ff.; Matt. xx 1-16, xxv. 21, 23; Jas. ii. 1-13; Jude 16.

[2] *Cf.* Mark x. 42 ff.; Matt. xxiii. 8 ff.

[3] See pp. 168 ff., 213 ff.

Class distinction. The Sadducee furnishes a typical instance of the misuse of the latter. The coterie of Caiaphas enjoyed an inherited pre-eminence and used it selfishly. At its best it postponed the Kingdom of God to the safety of Judaism, while at its worst it sought nothing higher than the success of its own caste. It forgot that Meekness bids a man, a Class, or a nation, perish rather than sin. "Humanitarianism" might find ways to justify the execution of Jesus,[1] but Meekness could not. There is nothing commoner than the selfish assertion of Class, but in Scripture nothing has a harder doom. "To whomsoever much is given," of him it unrelentingly requires much.[2]

On the other hand, there is an illustration of the right use of privilege in Paul's way with his Roman citizenship.[3] He was "born free." When it would serve the Kingdom to "stand upon" this privilege, he did so, but never else. Sometimes he chose rather to suffer with the common "run" of Christians. To the meek class and rank are tools—easily used, like other tools, or as easily let alone. There is a higher instance of the same method in the Christ's use of miracle, for, though the power to work wonders is not exactly a "Class distinction," yet it was an inborn advantage. Jesus never worked a miracle to succour His own need. Two of His typical temptations were to the selfish use of power,[4] but "even the Christ pleased not Himself."[5] His self-restraint was unique. Again, He was born poor. He used this undeserved disadvantage so peerlessly for the Kingdom of God that it is now counted one of His advantages! *For the Kingdom* it was an advantage.

Class distinctions, like other institutions that fall under the principle of Accommodation,[6] ought to disappear when they have served their purpose. Success is sometimes euthanasia. The simplest illustration is the disappearance of a father's "inborn" authority when it has served its uses. Similarly the Jewish Priesthood

[1] John xi. 49 f.
[2] Luke xii. 48.
[3] Acts xvi. 37, xxi. 39, xxii. 25.
[4] Matt. iv. 2-7.
[5] Rom. xv. 3.
[6] See p. 164.

would have ended, even if it had not been abused. This, indeed, is the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It urges rather that the High-priesthood had finished its work than that it had failed; for its writer the Old Dispensation was not so much corrupt as "waxing old."[1] The ministerial perishes sooner or later just because it is ministerial. The history of progress is a history of the birth, use, death, of privilege.

When does the period for the toleration and use of a Class distinction pass, and the time for its disappearance come? The New Testament gives no direct answer. It leaves this decision, with others of the same kind,[2] to the individual. Probably no institution has ever perished but some have thought it ended too early and others too late. While the Christian may decide of one Class distinction that his duty is still to transfigure it by his Meekness in its use,[3] of another he will judge that it ought to die. Then a further difficult question will front him—"How far shall I carry my opposition?" Many a Class distinction dies slowly of uselessness, yet all will not perish so. Few will deny that it was right to secure the abolition of slavery in America by the sword. Even war, therefore, may be the proper tool of Meekness.[4] More often the Christian's way is by example. He, first in his Class, will forgo its privilege to further the Kingdom. This was the way of Philip Sidney, of Moses, of Jesus Christ. Again, it is a duty sometimes to make new Classes. In all this each man's first judge is himself and his last God. It is for the Church to testify to all that they must rule their lives by the principle of Meekness; it is for Christians to seek each other's counsel in decisions; often they will act together; yet each man decides for himself. Usually he will undertake the common task of using Class distinctions for Christ, more rarely he will seek to destroy or create them. Society may then praise, punish, or neglect, crown or kill him, but his act is still his own, and his ultimate judge is God. Christians who use an

[1] Heb. viii. 13.
[2] See pp. 311 ff.
[3] *Cf.* 1 Cor. vii. 20, 24.
[4] *Cf.* pp. 329 ff., 339, 348 f.

imperfect institution in the Kingdom's service, who create one that is its true instrument, or who destroy one that has become its hindrance, are alike "blessed."

Section C.—The State

The Separation of Church and State

It seems obvious to-day that Church and State are different things, yet in the past the two have often been one. For instance, from Moses to Samuel Church and State were blent in Israel, and under the Kings their functions were not extricable. With the Exile, however, they separated, for in Babylon the Jews remained a Church but ceased to be a State, and on the Return, after Nehemiah's brief rule, the separation became permanent. During the centuries that followed, the Jew, whether in Palestine or the "Dispersion," was at once a worshipper of Jehovah and the subject of a heathen Empire. Yet, far from learning that Church and State are "naturally" distinct, he continually insisted that his Church was imperfect because it was not also a State. The "Messianism" of Jesus' day meant the restoration of "the Kingdom to Israel." [1]

In the time of the New Testament the one State was Rome. As the Jew thought that the Church should include the State, so the Roman held that the State should include the Church. Some cults other than the imperial worship were indeed permitted (*licitæ*) within the great Empire, and theoretically this degree of toleration was inconsistent with the absorption of religion in loyalty, but the Roman was patient of theoretical inconsistency if in practice he got his way. The adherents of the ordinary *religiones licitæ* were ready to sacrifice to the Emperor's emblem, and that sufficed. To the Jew too the Roman was willing to leave his peculiar worship if only, like the more complacent nations, he would accept Rome's rule. But a race that believed empire to

[1] *e.g.* Mark xi. 10.

be the right of its own religion, could make no such terms, and Israel was inevitably rebel. Jew and Roman agreed that loyalty to Cæsar was incompatible with the service of the Messiah,[1] and their agreement meant their war.

Christianity on the other hand refused to be a State. One Roman judge, Gallio, seems clearly to have seen that this was so;[2] another, Pilate, was willing to make what he no doubt regarded as usually an impossible distinction in the case of an honest but impracticable visionary named Jesus.[3] Jesus Himself knew that both practice and theory demanded the separation. He hazarded and lost the favour of "the people" because He insisted upon founding a Church that was not a State. He would not be a king in the political sense. Even the disciples did not quickly learn the distinction,[4] but after Pentecost experience taught it them. Both Paul and Peter urged the readers of their letters to loyalty to Rome.[5] A Gentile Christian, passing from heathenism to Christianity, became thereby no rebel. To him it seemed natural that a Christian accept Roman rule.

His Jewish brother, on the contrary, learnt to do this only by crisis. When in A.D. 66 the Jews rose against Rome, the old love of Jerusalem tugged at his heart. Though a Christian, was he not still also a Jew? Did not the new faith too teach that the Son of David should rule the world? Only those who have put themselves into the Christian Jew's place feel fully how the Epistle to the Hebrews throbs with this problem. The plea of teachers like its writer, however, joined with an explicit command of the Master Himself,[6] won the day. The

[1] *Cf.* Acts xvii. 7; John xix. 12.
[2] Acts xviii. 12 ff.
[3] John xviii. 36 ff.
[4] *e.g.* Luke ix. 54 f.; Acts i. 6.
[5] Rom. xiii. 1; 1 Peter ii. 13 f.
[6] Mark xiii. 14 ff. Other sayings of Jesus led to the same conclusion—Mark xii. 1 ff., xiii. 1 ff.; Luke x. 13 ff. *Cf.* Luke iii. 9. Of Jesus' patriotism there is of course ample evidence—*e.g.* Mark xi. 15 ff; Luke xiii. 34 f., xxiv. 47; Matt. x. 5 f. There were, however, two kinds of false patriotism—the Sadducee's (John xi. 47-50) and the Zealot's (Mark xiii. 17); Jesus declined both.

Jewish Christian, like his brother of the Gentiles, discovered at last that he belonged to a Church that was not a State, nor aimed in any current sense to be one.

The Imperfection of Coercion

The ultimate ground of the refusal of Christianity to be a State is that the latter cannot be a perfect society. For one thing a modern State, being but one amid a multitude, cannot be universal, while Christianity cannot submit to be less. But even a universal State, with all others, would fall short of perfection in another and vital way. Every kind of State yet known involves coercion. Most of the citizens of normal States are born into them, and in this their non-voluntary nature already appears. Coercion, however, comes chiefly through the institution of law. Hitherto in history it has been true that where there is a State there is law, and law is an inherently imperfect social institution, for, though coercion is not its only function, it is always one of its functions.[1] Yet for the Christian no society is perfect in which a single man is ever coerced to anything[2]—in his Ideal everyone does just what he likes. This fatal flaw in the nature of law lies behind St Paul's discussion of its necessary imperfection. It is true that the English Versions speak of "the law" and so confine the Apostles' argument to the Jewish Code, but the Greek is usually patient also of the wider translation "law," and in any case Paul's principles demand general application. As a Pharisee he had known the yoke of law—how it irks continually to do what one is told! How different to do just the same thing from love! As another New Testament writer says in a not very different connexion—"Law [makes] nothing perfect."[3] A greater Teacher had earlier put His finger on its inherent limit. The words of the Elder Brother in the Parable of the Prodigal exactly describe it—"Lo, these many years do I serve thee, and

[1] See p. 54.
[2] See pp. 246 ff.
[3] Heb. vii. 19; *cf.* viii. 7.

I never transgressed a commandment of thine." Pharisaism at its best is the utmost that mere law can produce, and Pharisaism is routine. In the perfect realm men must do, not what they are told, but what they like.

Loyalty

Coercion, however, is not the only proper function of the State, for a State that is all coercion is despotism at its last gasp. Always the chief stay of true States is their citizens' patriotism, and its signal instance is their willingness to fight and to die for their country. To this it is impossible to coerce men, nor will a true patriot limit his willing service to it. On the contrary he pays prosaic taxes gladly! The State that has least need of coercion is strongest. The Jew was quite used to this point of view. From of old his law had been to him instruction as well as coercion,[1] and its restoration as State law was his heart's desire. The coercion that he knew, came, not from an heir of David, but from an alien Empire. He would have said that in the Messianic realm of his dreams no Jew was to be coerced.

Jesus did not altogether endorse the hope of contemporary Israel, yet neither did He altogether condemn it. Else He had not given Himself to the simple pageant of "Palm Sunday." He too inherited the Old Testament; He too expected a "Kingdom." The very term requires that the concept of the State embodies an element found in the final constitution of human society. Similarly, the seer of the Apocalypse describes an evolution quite as much as a revolution in his great verse—"The kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of His Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever."[2] Paul, too, writing to a Roman colony, borrowed its political phraseology to describe the Christian ideal,[3] and Jesus Himself promised His twelve Apostles "thrones."[4] Moses and Elijah, the creator and restorer of the Hebrew

[1] See p. 54.
[2] Rev. xi. 15.
[3] Phil. i. 27, iii. 20.
[4] Luke xxii. 29 f.

commonwealth, had a place upon the Mount of Transfiguration. The New Testament finds something of pure value in the idea of the State.

What this is appears from the term "loyalty." The word's etymology links it with "law," and so untrue is it that the perfect society has in no sense any "law," that both Paul and John make "Lawlessness" its distinctive foe.[1] When it is said that in the final society everyone does as he likes, it does not follow that it has no *system*. The ways of God in nature show how He loves to bring infinite variety under general rule. In the Kingdom—and indeed only there—"law" has unhindered sway, just because there universal obedience is not by coercion, but of free-will. "Whosoever shall impress thee to go with him one mile, go with him twain"[2]—where this temper reigns there is no need of police. "Ye must needs be in subjection . . . for conscience sake"[3]—when all are conscientious, gaols will be empty. "Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king"[4]—in such a realm coercion dies of atrophy and "law" loses the connotation of force. Liberty perfects it—"Christ is the end of law unto righteousness."[5] In the last days "they sing the song of Moses" as well as of "the Lamb."[6] The perfect society will be a Cosmos, an ordered world, and, while in it every rule will be so perfectly balanced that its incidence will not harm any single "citizen," yet, since its "citizens" will still lack omniscience, they will often be unable to trace this harmlessness, and will yield an altogether willing obedience in trust. Indeed, without scope for trust "Heaven" could not be entire joy, for trust has a peculiar bliss. The final society will be all "law," yet know no "law"! No State can be its complete model, for all other States use coercion, yet to Pilate's challenge "Art Thou a king?" Jesus answered "Yes."[7] Every true State lives already

[1] 2 Thess. ii. 3; 1 John iii. 4.
[2] Matt. v. 41.
[3] Rom. xiii. 5.
[4] 1 Peter ii. 17.
[5] Rom. x. 4.
[6] Rev. xv. 3.
[7] John xviii. 37.

by the loyalty that the Kingdom of Heaven will perfectly embody.

The Use of the Coercive State

But Jesus, in His answer to Pilate, added "My kingdom is not of this world,"[1] and, while the quality of loyalty is eminent in the State, it is not peculiar to it but belongs to every true society. The State is an imperfect institution and Christianity metes out to it the same treatment that it offers to other imperfect institutions—it will tolerate and use it, in any of its forms,[2] so long and so far as it is subservient to the evolution of the perfect society, the Kingdom of God.

In a world of imperfect men there must be coercion, law, the State, for to leave everyone to his own bent would mean mere anarchy. The way to the perfect society is by an evolution, and, in the evolution's imperfect stages, without law there could not be any society at all. In Christian theory the coercive State is a ministerial institution, indispensable while imperfection lasts. The Bible expresses this by saying that the State is "of God." The Old Testament is the story of a State; it is one of the New Testament's unargued assumptions that God ordained the rule of Rome;[3] Jesus Himself taught that Cæsar had his rights.[4]

The initial benefit of the coercive State is that it restrains the evil in the interests of the good[5]—that it obtains for man some degrees of the safety and peace that are the *sine qua non* of society. How great this primary gift of order is, those who continuously enjoy it hardly understand. Not the Englishman, but the Balkan

[1] John xviii. 36.

[2] This catholicity is implicit in the New Testament tolerance of Rome, but clearer from the Old Testament, where Israel herself passed from a kind of democracy to monarchy and from that to vassalage. Here Christianity is "pragmatic." The old defenders of the "Divine right of kings" and the modern defenders of the Divine right of "the people" can neither of them properly claim that the New Testament is their partisan.

[3] John xix. 11; Rom. xiii. 1 ff.; 1 Peter ii. 13 ff.

[4] Mark xii. 13 ff.

[5] 1 Tim. i. 9.

or the Russian appreciates it to-day! Its worth is high in the scale of social values. "I exhort you therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings, be made for kings and all that are in high place; that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life in all godliness and gravity." [1]

But Rome gave the Christian more than the State's primary gift of order. The prevalence of the *Pax Romana* at the time of Christianity's birth was an invaluable aid in the new faith's missionary task. For a while Rome not only tolerated the Christian, but sometimes even protected him against the rancour of the Jew.[2] No wonder that aggressive Christians took it for granted that, though it was heathen, it was of God. Two well-known passages—the one in Paul the other in Peter [3]—present the Christian conclusion about the State from this side, and their gist is "The powers that be are ordained of God." [4] The coercive State is useful in the progress of society, both as maintaining the ground already won from anarchy, and as giving opportunity for further advance.

Loyalties, Dominant and Subordinate

Yet even in the New Testament period Christians sometimes refused obedience to political rulers, while immediately on its close a passive defiance became almost their normal attitude to Rome. This defiance not theory but experience elicited. Its first appearance followed hard upon Pentecost—and it is not the less a representative instance because the State in question was not Roman but Jewish. Peter and John, charged with healing and preaching in the name of Jesus and forbidden to repeat this offence, retorted on the Sanhedrin, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye." [5] The long story of Christian martyrdom has made the principle here enunciated a

[1] 1 Tim. ii. 2.
[2] Acts xviii. 12 ff.
[3] Rom. xiii. 1-7; 1 Peter ii. 13-17.
[4] Rom. xiii. 1.
[5] Acts iv. 19; *cf.* v. 29.

Christian commonplace, but its implication is often overlooked. A Christian will sometimes defy legitimate authority. In the Book of the Acts it is assumed that the authority of the Sanhedrin was legitimate—indeed on a subsequent occasion its legality is almost directly asserted[1]—and historical research has not upset the assumption. At the least, Peter did not refuse to obey on the ground that the Sanhedrin's power was usurped. His claim was that the ultimate responsibility of every man is to God Himself, and that so all other allegiance is secondary. It is perhaps worth noticing that the Apostles were not challenged to direct apostasy, as were later Christians by Rome, but only to silence, and that they refused even that. They denied the State's authority when it hindered the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. The "passive resistance" that lies behind the Apocalypse implies a similar defiance. There are, too, a few direct references to men who refused Rome obedience.[2] Some of these come from the letters of the very Apostles who commend submission to the "powers that be." In everyone there is the underlying conviction that a Christian must rather die than deny Christ even at the behest of the State—that a man owes unlimited obedience only to God.

The New Testament has another instance of the conflict of patriotism and religion.[3] It has already been seen that the Christian Jew, after an anguish of hesitation, declined to fight for Jerusalem against Rome.[4] This implies that there are circumstances in which it is not a patriot's duty to share in his country's quarrel. The Christian Jew was brave enough to refuse to fight. This does not mean that a patriot will make a like refusal whenever he thinks a warlike policy is a mistake, but that there are extreme cases when such a conclusion is justi-

[1] Acts xxiii. 5. [2] 2 Tim. iv. 17; 1 Peter iv. 16; Rev. ii. 13.

[3] A coarse instance of the apparent conflict of patriotism *with morality* occurs in John xi. 47-50. Even yet many who have learnt to deny diplomacy the tool of murder, permit it deceit—*i.e.* they assume that States are naturally each other's enemies (*cf.* pp. 82 ff., 94 ff.). *Cf.* Luke iv. 6-8.

[4] See p. 325.

fiable. The "passive resister" and the "conscientious objector" may be mistaken in thinking a law inimical to the Kingdom,—as indeed the writer thinks the latter was mistaken when he refused to fight Prussian militarism —but their contention that a man's final loyalty is not to the State but to God, is thoroughly Christian. The cry, "My country, right or wrong," has no New Testament justification.

These New Testament references to the State are only occasional, yet they warrant some general conclusions, especially when the Old Testament doctrine is also remembered. It is plain that Paul and Peter's exhortations to obedience to "the powers that be" are not to be "universalised." The New Testament does not teach "passive obedience." At the same time it is possible to "particularise" the two passages too much, for their unlimited form is undeniable. Probably the best broad statement of the principle underlying the whole of the New Testament passages is that the Christian's normal duty is ready obedience, but his occasional duty reluctant disobedience. If it be asked on what occasions a Christian should refuse to obey, the answer is—When allegiance to the Kingdom of God conflicts with allegiance to his native land. There is this much truth in the charge that Christianity is unpatriotic. It does not make patriotism final. It teaches that duty to God—and for it this is also duty to mankind—is the overlord of duty to country. Nor does war give the only illustrations. Christianity, for instance, is naturally missionary, and calls some of its sons to forsake their country to "save the heathen." Its temper, unlike patriotism's, is universal. Paul subordinated Judaism to the winning of the world.

Yet the whole truth transcends this conflict, for it is more accurate to say that patriotism cannot be *directly* universal. To take still the one people whose story the Bible tells, the history of Israel is of a small nation that embodied a world-wide blessing. Was not the very purpose of its election that in it there might slowly grow

the universal religion ?[1] Therefore, through all the Old Testament epochs, the Hebrew who loved and served his people was as well a true lover and servant of mankind. Here it is perhaps not too hazardous to generalise from a single instance. They who hold that history lies under the sway of God, may well conclude that to every real nation—real just because of its idiosyncrasy—there is entrusted a peculiar gift, a gift that it is first to treasure for the world and ultimately to share with it, a gift without which mankind cannot be perfected. A verse in the Apocalypse seems to teach this—"The nations shall walk amidst the light [of the city]: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it. And the gates thereof shall in no wise be shut . . . and they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it."[2] Not dissimilar texts can be found in the Old Testament.[3] Here patriotism is the servant of religion, and it is consonant with the general teaching of the Bible that their union should be normal among men. The Christian will usually be the best of patriots, for he believes that his native land is called to the service of God. Only he will not forget that countries, as well as individuals, may thereby be called to self-denial. To put the conflict of duties in a way that transcends it, Paul was a pure patriot when he declared it to be his race's high calling to give the Christ to the world and cease to be the one people of God. Altruism is the duty and glory, not only of a man, but of a race. The calling of every State is to serve mankind, and he who subordinates his country's good to the world's is the best patriot. On this high view patriotism is a part of religion —true love of country always serves God.

The Rights of the State

The recognition of the legitimacy and use of the State carries with it the recognition of the State's rights and duties. Of duties the New Testament, since it deals with

[1] *Cf.* Luke ii. 32. [2] Rev. xxi. 24-26. [3] *e.g.* Isa. xix. 24 f., lx.

an alien rule, names only the primary one of protection ; [1] of rights it admits three. The right to tax is explicitly allowed.[2] So Jesus did not refuse discipleship to a righteous tax-gatherer.[3] This means that the State has the right to use the property of a single citizen for the good of the community. There is no logical ground for limiting its interference with the private control of property to the one method of taxation, even though the New Testament has no example of other interferences. It leaves the State to discover for itself in each age which are wise. Secondly, in the New Testament the State's right coercively to impose laws and punish law-breakers is implied, for neither Jesus Himself nor Peter nor Paul challenged the legality of the tribunals before which they were arraigned. Paul, indeed, implies the right of the State even to inflict capital punishment—"It beareth not the sword in vain." [4] Lastly, both Jesus Himself, the Baptist, and the Apostles admitted the legitimacy of the calling of a soldier.[5] In other words the Old Testament opinion that war may sometimes be righteous still held. Except perhaps in the Apocalypse,[6] there is no *direct* evidence of this in the New Testament, but, apart from the admission just named, it could hardly be claimed that a State has the right to use force against its own citizens but not against the alien. The right to make law requires the right to make war ; the soldier complements the policeman. The discussion of war in the Old Testament [7] showed that a people set on an ideal of peace may yet at times wage war. If a Christian believe that to his own nation there has been committed some gift that is to bless the world, Meekness may bid him fight in its defence. To him, too, as well as to the Roman, it will then be a sweet thing and a meet to die for one's country. But he will not fight for his country's aggrandisement by other nations' loss,

[1] See pp. 329 f. [2] Mark xii. 17 ; Rom. xiii. 6 f.
[3] Luke xix. 2 ff. ; *cf.* Mark ii. 14 ff. ; Luke iii. 12 f.
[4] Rom. xiii. 4 ; *cf.* Acts xxv. 11.
[5] Luke vii. 2 ff. ; Luke iii. 14 ; Acts x. 1 ff.
[6] See Additional Note 10.
[7] *e.g.* pp. 147 ff., and *cf.* Luke xii. 49 ff.

for this would contradict Meekness. Yet Christianity does not therefore condemn even all offensive wars. May not a Christian nation some day force order upon a distracted land just for love of Righteousness? Has there not already been approximation to this? For instance, England, having gone to India for anything but unselfish ends, stays there for India's good. There is an altruism of nations. So, though many still assume that selfishness is a proper part of diplomacy, Christianity cannot for ever allow this. It begins to insist that national policy, alike in peace and war, shall benefit, not the nation only, but the world. The glory of the recent world-struggle is that in it there was a nearer approach to a pure altruism of nations than in any earlier war. Shall not the same spirit now inform peace? Here is the only sure basis for a League of Nations. The true patriot will not brook that his country do less than serve mankind. Like the other two rights of States named—to coerce in tax and law—the waging of war is only justifiable because society is imperfect, but under the principle of Accommodation it too may serve the coming of the Final Ideal.

The New Testament only Illustrative

The State has other rights and other duties—some of which the Old Testament in contrast with the New asserts or implies—but the Bible nowhere fully enumerates or exactly defines them. Nor has it any scientific account of the rights of individuals and of smaller societies as over against the State. Here, too, the truth holds that complete logic is only possible for the perfect. Meanwhile, the Bible throws the responsibility of decision in particulars upon the parties themselves. Man is to work out his own political salvation. A State must decide for itself how far it is to limit the liberty or control the property of the individuals that compose it, each individual discovers for himself when allegiance to God bids him refuse obedience to the State. If a State impose undue

restriction, either its citizens lose slowly the enterprise that is the life of nations and it slowly decays, or they rebel against its despotism and it may perish of strife. In either event it invites its own doom. Similarly the individual who decides to disobey the State in the name of God, takes his own responsibility. This was clearly so in the typical case of Peter and John.[1] The State, of course, seeks in self-defence to strike the rebel down, and only history will decide between them—or rather only God will decide. The individual must distinguish for himself martyrdom from fanaticism. It is impossible to educe further rule from the New Testament than that it is terrible to disobey the State, but more terrible to disobey God. Even when men seem to be in similar circumstances, their duty may differ. It was the Baptist's duty to denounce his ruler's adultery and die in consequence, but Jesus' usual duty was not to denounce Herod but to avoid him. Similarly the individual must decide for himself what kind and degree of resistance he shall offer. The instances in the New Testament, at least apart from the Apocalypse,[2] are all of passive resistance, but it seems impossible to draw a reasonable line that vindicates this but forbids active resistance. The circumstances of the first Christians made the latter impracticable, but when it is practicable, is it always a mistake? Were the Maccabees wrong? It is a tremendous responsibility that the Bible here leaves to the individual, yet one quite consonant with its view of his final worth. In a certain sense it is true that both Jesus and Barabbas refused obedience to pagan Rome, for the claims of both were incompatible with her permanence—it is true too that the majority of their contemporaries mistook which was the patriot—but each shouldered his own responsibility and found his own fate. All States perish when their service to mankind is complete, but the individual is eternal. None of them therefore can abolish his prerogative. Historically, on the contrary, the development of methods of government within Christendom has

[1] Acts iv. and v.

[2] See Additional Note 10.

gradually found large room for its assertion. Here, too, society grows slowly towards perfection. Of the State the New Testament postulates a few truths which, as they guided the first Christians in the political problems of their day, will also guide their successors in every dilemma till the coercive State pass. It is perhaps worth while to set them down succinctly—organisation under law is inevitable and useful in every society of imperfect men; patriotism, therefore, is normally a part of allegiance to God; so the Christian will be foremost in willing obedience; for him already coercion is normally superfluous; yet the State is but a great means and the "Kingdom" the end; so, if ever their claims conflict, the "Kingdom's" prevail; the Christian himself is the judge whether there be such conflict, and in what way and degree he shall resist the State; the individual and the State, each in its treatment of the other, decides its own doom.

Section D.—The Family

It is not easy to separate the subjects of the family and of womanhood, yet, though the latter is not treated here, something ought to be said of the former and of the allied subject of home. The last at its best, not only prepares the path for the Kingdom, but anticipates it in quite distinctive ways.[1]

The fundamental function of the family is that the adult care for the young. Without this there would be no continuous animal or human life at all. So God constrains His nobler creatures to be social. Within the Old Testament the family had peculiar eminence, as has often been noted, and the Biblical evolution of society proceeds by the ever closer application of the ideas of home to other social units. Even the ultimate Christian definition of God uses its terms.[2]

Yet, to gain a complete account of the Christian teaching about the family, another fact must be added. Any

[1] *Cf.* pp. 318 f. [2] See p. 276.

particular family only serves society throughly if at length it perish. If anywhere adult children uniformly refused to abandon their old homes in order to share new ones with mates from outside, there society would disappear. On the other hand, there is no clearer or more beautiful illustration of Meekness than the way in which parents lavish the blessing of home upon sons and daughters, and then relinquish them to others' love.[1] The family is naturally "accommodational." It is its fate to serve and then to perish.

The family, again, is naturally imperfect. It contrasts with the Kingdom in three ways—it founds on common blood, its members are few, it admits a measure of coercion. These three are closely connected. The link of common blood is at once the most irrational, the most justifiable, and the most tenacious of all imperfect bonds. A man dying in Australia will leave his wealth rather to a cousin in England whose mere name he hardly knows, than to the friends of thirty years in the Southern world! And public opinion approves! Common blood is the physical basis of the family, and its justification is that it makes for every human being a little world where he may learn the better unity of love. That is to say, unity of flesh is but the minister of unity by spirit. Thus homes attain the latter, and so there are great New Testament passages where the family ideal is held up as model of the Final. For instance, the Parable of the Prodigal tells of a wandering son who regained his home because he regained its spirit, and of his stay-at-home brother who had really lost his home because he had lost its spirit. Many other passages, amid great variety of form, exhibit in subtle

[1] *Cf.* Jean Ingelow, "Songs of Seven":

"To hear, to heed, to wed,
Fair lot that maidens choose,
Thy mother's tenderest words are said,
Thy face no more she views;
Thy mother's lot, my dear,
She doth in naught accuse;
Her lot to bear, to nurse, to rear,
To love—and then to lose."

ways the spiritual definition of home.[1] Yet, though the family may so anticipate "heaven," it only does so imperfectly, for its unity of spirit is not universal—it only links those of common blood. So its second imperfection follows from its first. Both are useful under the principle of Accommodation.

Again, the New Testament, admitting families into the Church by the choice of their heads,[2] justifies thereby the coercion of children. The gentleness of this coercion does not abolish it. So, too, the family uses a kind of law, for the New Testament bids children obey their parents in quite the Old Testament way.[3] Yet, as noted before, a true home gradually dispenses with coercion, for its consummation is the willing submission of an older child to a beloved parent.[4] Besides, when a child becomes adult, the decision whether or not he will still belong to the home, is rather his own than his parents'. He decides, in the same way, whether or not he will still belong to the Church into which they brought him. Indeed, the Church itself, in its reception of infants, uses Accommodation. An infant belongs to God—so the Church receives him; he is not yet sufficiently a person properly to choose for himself—so it must receive him without his consent.[5] When both the Church and the family are superseded, the Kingdom of Heaven will stand revealed as a group of individuals who, sharing one Spirit, are each of his own choice one with God. This is perfect home. The family consummates in the Final Ideal. As it began, so it will end, the story of human society.

Still, the family, as now known, is ministerial, and so secondary. Normally the love of home, like

[1] *e.g.* Mark iii. 34 f.; Matt. v. 43 ff.; Luke x. 21 f., xi. 13, 27 f., xxiv. 49; 2 Cor. vi. 17 f.; Gal. iv. 26; Rom. ix. 8, 26; Eph. ii. 18 f. It was when Jesus manifestly received the Spirit that God was heard to say, "Thou art My beloved Son; in Thee I am well pleased."

[2] *e.g.* Acts xi. 14, xvi. 15, 31, xviii. 8, xxi. 5; 2 Tim. i. 16; 2 John 1; *cf.* Mark ix. 24; Matt. xxvii. 25; 1 Cor. vii. 14; 1 Tim. ii. 15, iii. 4, 12; 2 Tim. i. 5.

[3] Eph. vi. 1 ff.

[4] See p. 276. *Cf.* Gal. iv. 1 ff., 25 ff.; Eph. vi. 1 ff.

[5] See p. 346.

loyalty to the State, coincides with the love of God, and he best serves the Kingdom who best serves his home. The smaller aim is then a part of the greater, and Jesus had hard words for those who put them into a false antagonism.[1] Yet it is possible that the claims of the two conflict, and when this occurs, the New Testament does not leave duty doubtful. For instance, a Christian will forgo home and die celibate, if so he can best serve the Kingdom.[2] Again, a problem that faces all pioneers of religion faced Jesus—what shall a convert do if he choose to follow the new faith while his family cleaves to the old? Every missionary has the question to answer, and the Missionary from the Father knew its urgency. No doubt some of his own followers were confronted with the hard alternative, for the Gospel from the first divided households—"There shall be from henceforth five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three,"[3] "A man's foes shall be they of his own household."[4] Against this crisis for the individual, where each must be a hero alone, Jesus laid down an express command—"He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than Me is not worthy of Me."[5] This was the cross[6] of many under His eyes, and He gave them meet encouragement—"Brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for My name's sake; but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved."[7] Jesus' scalpel probed confession to its quickest, but the hand of the Great Physician did not hesitate. How many have thanked Him for these clear words when their "hour" of hardest choice has come! The Kingdom takes precedence of home.

[1] Mark vii. 9 ff. *Cf.* Mark v. 19; 1 Cor. vii. 16.
[2] *Cf.* Matt. xix. 12; 1 Cor. vii. 32 ff.
[3] Luke xii. 52. [4] Matt. x. 36.
[5] Matt. x. 37; *cf.* xxiii. 9; Luke ix. 59 f. Paul appointed the same decision, if need be, to husbands and wives (1 Cor. vii. 15).
[6] Matt. x. 38. [7] Mark xiii. 12 f.; *cf.* x. 29 ff.

Yet this is not all. Our Lord not only preached but practised. The story of His home is not told in the Gospels but it is hinted here and there.[1] The bond between Jesus and His mother seems to have been peculiarly tender. Yet to her, as well as to His brethren, His way of ministry seemed foolish. How could it look else to any swayed by the current "Messianism?" As Jesus made straight for the Cross, Mary and His brothers thought Him "beside Himself."[2] Yet what His dearest thought error, He held the one way to success; "no cross, no Kingdom," was His creed; He had to choose between loyalty to His home and to God. And He did not falter. Through three long years He held the sword that pierced, as Simeon had foretold,[3] His mother's heart! No wonder His teaching about "stumbling-blocks" is so searching, for He Himself knew what it was to "cut off a right hand," to "pluck out a right eye," for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake. He put His Father before His home.

Section E.—The Church

The Distinctively "Christian" Institution

There is another kind of society named in the New Testament, the Church. This contrasts with other social institutions as founding on religion. Again, like the family, it will last until the close of "this age," and will only be superseded by the Kingdom itself. Once more, in contrast with all the other organisations discussed it is an institution peculiar to the Christian religion. Historically, *a* Church is a group of people who are one because they are each united in spirit with Christ, and *the* Church is the union of such groups. It is true that the gatherings of devout heathen for the worship of a dimly-known God, the assembly of early Israel "before Jehovah," and the holy "remnant" of later prophecy, all anticipated in different degrees the final Church and prepared its way,

[1] *e.g.* Mark iii. 31-35; John ii. 1-11; vii. 3 ff.; xix. 25-27.
[2] Mark iii. 21. [3] Luke ii. 35.

yet the word has only one adequate application. A plant's leaves are the flower's forerunners and have much in common with it; botany may even call a flower's petals "specialised" leaves; but the flower is still unique.

From this it follows that the Church, alone among the social institutions of the New Testament, has a known historical beginning. The origins of slavery, of property, of the State, and of the family, are alike lost in antiquity, but the Church began with Jesus of Nazareth. Some, indeed, date its birth during His lifetime, while others postpone it till Pentecost, but the difference is only of a triennium, and even so the dispute is about words. For, though it be true that a Church is a body knit by the Holy Spirit and that He was given at Pentecost in a new and peculiar way, yet the Spirit was just "Jesus back again."[1] The Acts of the Apostles, while it introduces the description "Church," also calls the believers by the old Synoptic name "Disciples." In more than one passage it uses the two terms interchangeably,[2] and they are always so in reality. Jesus Christ was the historic founder of the Church.

Some may object that He did not use the word, for the extant records only ascribe it to Him twice,[3] and it is possible that then it occurs by anachronism. Further, if the mere term were in question, it would be necessary to decide whether Jesus habitually spoke Greek or Aramaic, and to solve some other problems at present obscure. Here, however, not the word but the thing is important, and there can only be one answer to the question, "Did Jesus, or did He not, gather a company of disciples whom He regarded as a society anticipative of the Kingdom and ministerial to its coming?" The idea of a Christian Church in the midst of a hostile world and striving to win it, lies behind all the Gospels. It is the presupposition of every discourse in Matthew, of the farewell Chapters of John, of the Sermon on the Mount even in Luke's

[1] Matt. xviii. 20.
[2] Acts xi. 26, xiv. 27 f.; *cf.* ix. 1, 26, xi. 29, xiii. 52, xv. 7, 10.
[3] Matt. xvi. 18, xviii. 17.

version of it, and of Mark's story of the Mission of the Twelve with its significant word "Apostle"[1] Without it there were no meaning in the institution of the Lord's Supper. It is the burden, too, of many isolated texts—"He that is not against us is for us";[2] "Whosoever would become great among you shall be your minister";[3] "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."[4] Indeed, if it were denied that Jesus expected an interval between His own death and the Parousia, and that He prepared the society of Disciples to do His work in it, His whole story would have to be rewritten.[5]

Again, it is the proper sequel of this preparation that the Book of the Acts portrays the company of the Disciples as conscious even before Pentecost of its unity and mission—else why choose Matthias at all? There may be question whether Jesus expected the interval before the Kingdom's coming to be short or long, but there can be none that He expected that there should be an interval, that He gathered a society to last throughout it, and that He bade this society undertake the world-wide witness to His Gospel. Here appears another of the peculiarities of the Church—it alone, among the social institutions named in the New Testament, has always *of set purpose* ministered to the Final Ideal. It has always known that its one end is to bring in the Kingdom.

The Likeness of the Church to the Kingdom

But more—in a certain sense the Church *is* the Kingdom. A previous chapter showed that the latter is both future and present.[6] Many of the great Pauline passages quoted there to illustrate the nature of the Kingdom were written to depict the ideal Church.[7] Already the Church's members are "in Christ"; already it embodies the Spirit of God; the Church perfected *is* the Kingdom. To repeat a

[1] Mark vi. 7-13, 30.
[2] Mark ix. 40.
[3] Mark x. 43.
[4] Luke xii. 32.
[5] *Cf.* p. 258.
[6] See pp. 264 f.
[7] *Cf.* p. 345.

figure with a new application—while a flower's petal is unique, it is still a leaf consummated; they are one, though they differ. The Church, more even than the home, not only ministers to the Kingdom, but *is* the "incipient Kingdom" itself.

The primary likeness of the Church and Kingdom lies here—both found on the relation of the individual to God in Christ. The New Testament has, indeed, instances of the conversion of men in groups, and at first sight this seems to contradict the claim that the Church is essentially individualistic, but always conditions were laid upon the groups that dissolved them into individuals. The typical instance is the conversion of the three thousand at Pentecost. In answer to their cry—"Brethren, what shall we do?" Peter said, "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."[1] How individual the words are—repentance, Baptism, forgiveness, sin! And the Christian heart has not been mistaken when it has seen in the mysterious symbolism of Pentecost the emblem, not only of a common gift, but of an individual one—"And there appeared unto them tongues distributing themselves, like as of fire; and it sat upon each one of them."[2] Apart from the accession of families,[3] the New Testament has no single case of Christianity's being spread except by the appeal to the individual conscience. Well, if the missionaries of the Church had always been careful of this method! Then the northern tribes of the Middle Ages had not been "converted" *en masse*, and Christendom had perhaps escaped a Europe "nominally" Christian but really "indifferent" to God.

Yet with this individualist appeal the earliest Church, again like the Kingdom, combined a close unity, for, though it was a purely voluntary association, it was a true society—"The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul."[4] The ground of this unity both

[1] Acts ii. 37 f.
[2] Acts ii. 3.
[3] See p. 346.
[4] Acts iv. 32.

historically and philosophically was the Disciples' possession by a common Spirit—the Spirit of Christ and of God.[1] This is a part of the historical burden of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the exegetical burden of St Paul and St John. To establish it would mean quoting a great part of Jesus' farewell discourse and prayer in the Fourth Gospel, most of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and many deep and favourite passages in other Epistles.[2] "We, who are many, are one loaf, one body";[3] "We are a temple of the living God";[4] "We, who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another";[5] "The unity of the Spirit";[6] "There is one body, and one Spirit";[7] "He is the head of the body, the church"[8]—these are the great commonplaces of the Christian Church. So, too, the Apocalypse assumes in its first three chapters the unity of particular Churches, and in the subsequent chapters the unity of the whole Church throughout the world. And, as the historical origin of this unity was the union of the first Disciples with Jesus of Nazareth, so its philosophy was already implicit in a "Johannine" saying of His reported by all the Synoptists in their several ways—"He that receiveth you receiveth Me, and he that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me."[9] The Church, like the Kingdom, combines a sole appeal to individuals with a unique emphasis upon the unity of the society that they form. What this means in practice will appear below.[10]

The Inevitable Imperfections of the Church

While, however, in some ways the Church is like the perfect Kingdom and anticipates it, yet with the likeness there are differences.

[1] See pp. 244 ff., 259 ff.
[2] *e.g.* 1 Cor. xii.; Rom. xii.; Col. i.
[3] 1 Cor. x. 17.
[4] 2 Cor. vi. 16.
[5] Rom. xii. 5.
[6] Eph. iv. 3.
[7] Eph. iv. 4.
[8] Col. i. 18.
[9] Matt. x. 40; *cf.* Mark ix. 37; Luke x. 16.
[10] See pp. 353 ff.

One of these follows from the admission of families to the Church. Whenever children are brought into it merely because they belong to Christian homes—a case probably though not certainly found already in the New Testament[1]—then constraint, however gentle, occurs within the Church, and it ceases to be a purely voluntary association. This constraint is permissible and indeed wise under the principle of Accommodation,[2] but it is none the less a mark of imperfection. The Church has always found it hard to define its relation to children. Here again it is to be remembered that only the perfect society can be entirely logical. The Church, at least in its alert days, has always striven to find for infants a position intermediate to reception and exclusion! To trace the history of this endeavour and its controversies belongs to Church History, but the fact is witness to the inherent imperfection of an institution that has to take account of beings that are not yet fully "selves" but are only becoming so.

A second imperfection in the Church is its lack of universality. It seeks to embrace mankind, but does not yet do so. Whether there ever will or can be a literally universal Church is a speculative question. The possibility depends on two conditions—that the Church some day contain every human being, and that some among its members still sometimes sin. For, if sin disappear upon universality, then the Church will lapse in the Kingdom. It may be that the final extrusion of sin from the Church, and the inclusion within it of the last "outsider," will be simultaneous, and mark the very crisis by which it passes into the perfect Kingdom of God.

This means that the Christian cannot yet "universalise" the entire practice of his principle of Meekness, for this is only possible when it is reciprocal.[3] His attitude to a "brother" and to "the heathen and the publican" cannot be quite the same.[4] The limitation of the Church

[1] *e.g.* Acts xvi. 15, 33, xviii. 8; 1 Cor. i. 16.
[2] *Cf.* p. 339. [3] See pp. 270, 299 ff. [4] Matt. xviii. 15, 17.

justifies a particularity in Meekness in its own behoof. While a Christian will never contradict Meekness in his treatment of the non-Christian, and will spend himself in seeking to extend its sway, yet the more intimate of its positive ministries are only possible between "brethren."[1] No man can fully receive its benefits unless he give them too. To "turn the other cheek" to a daily persecutor is possible, but not to share with him a perfect home. *He* makes it imperfect. And this is true, though in a mitigated way, even of an "outsider" who does not persecute. Only when every man is Christian can Meekness be perfected.

The Discipline of the Church

The chief imperfection of the Church, however, lies within itself. In one sense the members even of the final Kingdom may be called imperfect—in the sense of immature. Else there could be no development in the Kingdom of Heaven and it would lack the joy of uninterrmitted and eternal progress. But "imperfect" has another meaning—a child is healthily immature, but what of the imperfection of a sick man? The Bible's name for spiritual sickness is sin. In the Church there are many who are not yet entirely "made whole."

The disease of sin within the Church has many degrees. The worst sinner there is the hypocrite—whether he be a man who has never received the Spirit of Christ and so has never been a true member of the Christian society, or a man who, having once accepted it, later rebels against it. The New Testament Church had its hypocrites—Judas Iscariot, Ananias and Sapphira, Demas—and the Church has never since been free of them. This is the fact that lies behind the distinction between the "Visible" and the "Invisible" Church. Nobler than these are those who are true Christians in that their love of the Christ is their strongest permanent motive, but who more or less often

[1] *Cf.* Matt. vii. 6.

fall under the sway of impulses alien to that love. These impulses may urge them to acts that are themselves sinful, or only to innocent but unhelpful practices. The latter, again, may be the fruit, not of impulse, but of ignorance or misunderstanding. The New Testament teaches that such practices become sinful if a man persist in them when he has found out that they hinder the coming of the Kingdom. Both Jesus and Paul warned Christians against the "stumbling-block." In such ways sin persists within the Church.

To meet this imperfection the early Church used two weapons—government and Meekness. The question of the government of the Church in the New Testament has been the subject of prolonged and bitter controversy,[1] but it is generally agreed that in Apostolic days the Church had a government. This meant its use of that very tool of law that Paul so energetically pronounecd to be abolished "in Christ"! For the purposes of Church government included not only instruction and organisation and aggression upon the world, but also a kind of coercion, and, while the former uses are not inconsistent with Paul's polemic, the last seems exactly so. In so far as the Church used coercion, it ceased to be voluntary. Here, again, there appeared the inevitable and justifiable inconsistency of an imperfect society.

An examination, however, of the occasions of the use of coercion in the New Testament Church mitigates the inconsistency. The utmost act of discipline was exclusion, a weapon necessary to every true society. The signal instance of its use is the judgement upon Ananias and Sapphira.[2] Theirs was a "sin against the Holy Ghost," and so a sin against Meekness,[3] for the root of their deceit was failure to subordinate self-love to love of the Kingdom. As it made the first breach in "the

[1] This subject is left undiscussed here, but perhaps the writer ought candidly to say that he thinks that both the pertinent passages in the New Testament, and the nature of Christian social theory, require a "pragmatic" conclusion. That is, he holds that any method of Church government is justifiable if, at a particular time and place, it best serves the Kingdom.

[2] Acts v. 1-11.

[3] *Cf.* p. 286.

body" of the Christ, it met a sudden and fearful doom. But expulsion of this kind remained singular. The normal use of exclusion appears in a phrase of Paul's in the First Epistle to the Corinthians—"Do ye not judge them that are within? . . . Put away the wicked man from among yourselves."[1] The right of the Church to expel the sinful is here explicitly laid down. This is consonant with Jesus' own rule for the confirmed recusant—"Let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican."[2] There was, however, another way of separation between an unworthy member and the Church. He might himself at length choose to leave it. In one passage Paul refers to this method—"I would that they which unsettle you would even cut themselves off."[3] This way requires of the Church an unwearying longsuffering, even with the vile, so long as they choose to remain within it. Jesus Himself practised this tolerance, for it does not appear that He ever drove any away. He let Judas linger to the last! But, as He unfolded the rigour of the Gospel's demands, "many of His disciples went back, and walked no more with Him." It is plain that to leave exclusion to the sinner's own option is Meekness perfected, and therefore that it is a "more excellent way" than expulsion, yet the New Testament justifies the latter if need be. A man's continuance in the Church may do so great harm to its other members that his expulsion is imperative. At the same time, it is usually only in so far as *they* fail of complete Meekness that *he* is able to do them harm. Yet here again there is an illustration of the kind of opportunism inevitable till the Kingdom come. A perfect social practice—as distinct from a perfect principle—is impossible in an imperfect world. Until Meekness be perfected, the Church has the right of expulsion and so of a kind of coercion.

But what of discipline that falls short of expulsion? The one New Testament instance of which any detail is left befell in the Church at Corinth,[4] though even of that

[1] 1 Cor. v. 12 f. [2] Matt. xviii. 17. [3] Gal. v. 12.
[4] A sort of gentle ostracism appears in 2 Thess. iii. 6-15.

the particulars are incomplete. Paul pictures the Corinthian Church as gathered together to "judge" an incestuous man and as delivering him "unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh."[1] What this highly symbolic phrase meant does not appear, but it did not mean irremediable exclusion, for later the Apostle writes—"Sufficient to such a one is this punishment which was inflicted by the many; so that contrariwise ye should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means such a one should be swallowed up of his overmuch sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you to confirm your love towards him."[2] Even in this horrible case the ultimate healer was to be Meekness on both sides. Further, the circumstances involved voluntary submission to discipline. If, in such an association as the early Corinthian Church, an offender refused to submit to punishment, it could not be enforced. The offender might always elect rather to leave the Church than to submit; and, if he stubbornly refused to do either, the Church could only vindicate its judgement by expelling him. There was no "secular arm" at its disposal. A sinner who remained within the Church could only be disciplined with his own consent, and in this submission there was already an incipient Meekness.

But most of the passages about discipline in the Corinthian letters refer, not to the case of incest, but to the Corinthians' contumacy against Paul. This arose out of the "divisions" among them. The Apostle's first hint of discipline—"What will ye? Shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love and a spirit of meekness"[3]—expressly contrasts Meekness with discipline. Is it then true that when Paul used discipline in his Churches he abandoned Meekness? The answer elucidates a distinction already made.[4] Paul's temper was still meek; he still sought not his own good but that of the Church; indeed, the pursuit of self would rather have drawn him from the exercise of an unwelcome discipline than urged him to it; but,

[1] 1 Cor. v. 5.
[2] 2 Cor. ii. 6-8.
[3] 1 Cor. iv. 21.
[4] See pp. 346 f.

while the true Christian social temper still controlled his will, its perfect exhibition was impossible because of the imperfection of the Corinthians. The consummation of Meekness can only be reciprocal. Only perfect men can unreservedly submit each to the other. So long as imperfection lurks, the more nearly perfect may be driven to the use of self-assertion by their very devotion to the Kingdom of Heaven. It was to this that the Apostle saw himself slowly and reluctantly compelled. Of his reluctance his continued delay to exercise discipline upon the Corinthians bears witness; he calls it not their but his own humiliation;[1] yet he declares that, if it be necessary, he "will not spare" but will "deal sharply." Similarly in the discussion of other questions he sometimes cuts short the stubbornly "contentious" with a curt appeal to the custom of the Churches.[2] Here is Meekness driven to attack.

Yet the only "authority"[3] that the Apostle had was spiritual. Apart from the possible repetition of such a doom as befell Ananias or Elymas, he could not in the literal sense "enforce" his punishments. If a single offender within the Church submitted only of his own accord, still more clearly was this so if at any time a larger number of the members of a Church fell under Apostolic displeasure. Again, therefore, discipline is found to rest on Meekness. This would be so whenever there was need of "reproof" in the Apostolic Churches.[4] The "authority" committed to Timothy or Titus by Paul, whether it were absolute or limited, was not like the authority of a civil magistrate or a Roman father. Its decisions were enforceable only if the Church were meek. This is true, too, of obedience to such an edict as the primitive council's at Jerusalem.[5] All Christian discipline, apart from the extreme penalty of expulsion, presupposes the fundamental Meekness of Christianity.

[1] 2 Cor. xii. 21; *cf.* i. 23 f., xiii. 2 f., 10.
[2] 1 Cor. xi. 16, xiv. 36.
[3] 2 Cor. x. 8, xiii. 10.
[4] *e.g.* Eph. v. 11; 1 Tim. v. 20; 2 Tim. iv. 2; Tit. i. 9-14, ii. 15.
[5] Acts xv., xvi. 4.

Again, just in so far as a Christian attains the temper of the Christ, the law of the Church ceases for him to be discipline and becomes delight. The Church, like the home, is a school of the happy Meekness of the Kingdom. By discipline it teaches its scholars to do without discipline. Yet "law makes nothing perfect," and a society in which a single member submits grudgingly rather than graciously is still imperfect. It is imperfect indeed if there be any dissonance of spirit at all.[1] The fault of the Pharisee was that he made law final. In the Church it is always "accommodational."

Meekness the Cure of Schism

The length of this discussion of the discipline of the New Testament Church must not hide the fact that it holds a very insignificant place in the records. Of far greater importance is the repeated emphasis upon Meekness as the truer weapon against dissension. In particular, it is continually presented as the method to prevent and cure the more serious separations called "schisms."

To found a purely voluntary society for the winning of the world was a daring experiment, for just in so far as a society is voluntary disunion threatens it. Each member, knowing that he can ever choose whether he remain in membership or not, and that his secession will weaken the society, is tempted to assert himself. For instance, a "gentleman" in a cricket team, since his adhesion is voluntary, expects much more of his own way than a "professional." Or, most men will "stand" more from an "overlooker" at their daily work than from the "president" of a club, for behind the one lies the fear of the loss of daily bread, behind the other a much less evil. So most voluntary associations are short-lived. The great exceptions are religious. Even among these continuance has often depended upon the coercion of superstition—not less really coercion because its whip is ghostly. Yet Jesus set out to win the world with a

[1] *Cf.* p. 338.

society that was purely voluntary, for none else can become perfect.[1] During the stages of its imperfection it is peculiarly liable to schism, but on the consummation of its Meekness it is naturally eternal.

It must not be supposed that Jesus did not understand the risk. Already in His own lifetime there was quarrel within the very circle of the Twelve;[2] a discourse and parable in Matthew prescribe the cure for dissension within the Church;[3] Luke has the parable of the Mote and the Beam[4] and the saying that bids a disciple forgive his brother "seven times in the day";[5] forgiveness is the only social duty explicitly named in the Lord's Prayer. There a man's forgiveness of his brother is the measure of God's forgiveness of him![6] There are, therefore, many signs that Jesus fully appreciated the risks of voluntary societies and deliberately ran them. He foresaw that the chief curse of His Church would be its own divisions.

With Jesus' forebodings the experience of the Apostles agreed. The "schisms" within the Church at Corinth do not surprise, when the "contention" of Paul and Barnabas is remembered, how Paul withstood Peter "to his face." How relentlessly too the Christian "Judaisers" pursued the Gentiles' Apostle! Nor is the difficulty of some of these differences lessened because on both sides there was honest conviction. Further, the Apostles, again like Jesus, expected worse divisions after their decease.[7] These founders of the Church knew well that her greatest peril would be her own schism. The history both of the few great historical schisms, and of the many insignificant squabbles in individual Churches, has sadly approved their forecast.

In face both of experience and foreboding, what defence did Jesus and the Apostles provide? Not primarily government and discipline, but the Meekness upon which in the Church these rest. Jesus compared

[1] *Cf.* pp. 264, 286.
[2] Mark ix. 33 ff., x. 35 ff.
[3] Matt. xviii. 15-35.
[4] Luke vi. 41.
[5] Luke xvii. 3 f.
[6] *Cf.* Mark xi. 25.
[7] Acts xx. 29; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 1 John iv. 3; Jude 18 f.

its work in His society to that of salt ;[1] against the desire for pre-eminence He prescribed no "constitution" but the Meekness of His own example ;[2] and He taught that if two disciples disagree, the one who is in the *right* is to take the first step towards reconciliation, and if that fail, the second, and the third.[3] Strange that after nineteen centuries Christians should still usually assume the world's postulate that of course the wrong-doer must make the first approach, and that the proper attitude meanwhile of the right-doer is to sit aloof! Similarly, the Epistles teem with the commendation of Meekness as the proper preservative of the Church's unity and the fit medicine for its divisions. A footnote in the discussion of Meekness above catalogued thirteen of their principal passages.[4] How was the difference of opinion about "meats offered to idols" to be met? By a mutual Meekness.[5] Was Paul driven in self-defence to speak of his own pre-eminence in the service of the Christ? He apologised for the folly of a "glorying" that is not "after the Lord," for how should a meek man "glory"?[6] Was he rapt to the vision of the Church's unity? The wing of his rapture was her Meekness.[7] In the New Testament, while discipline peeps here and there, Meekness is everywhere. In three ways the Church is like the Kingdom, and at heart the three are one—both base upon the free allegiance of individuals to God in Christ; yet both have an organic unity; and the effective bond of both is Meekness. Amid many perplexities Meekness kept the Church one in Apostolic times; if its rule had lasted, perhaps none of her subsequent divisions had come; through Meekness chiefly she will achieve reunion. It is her breath of life.

Its adequacy to preserve the unity of the Church in the day of internal "schism" has a signal illustration in the New Testament. The Acts of the Apostles shows

[1] Mark ix. 50, *cf.* 35-37.
[2] Mark x. 42-45.
[3] Matt. xviii. 15-17.
[4] See p. 279, footnote 2. *Cf.* Gal. v. 13, vi. 1; 1 Cor. vi. 7; Rom. xv. 1, 3.
[5] Rom. xiv.
[6] 2 Cor. x. and xi.
[7] Eph. iii. and iv.

plainly that the success of Paul and Barnabas in winning the Gentiles brought a crisis. The Jewish Church in Palestine was not only the largest as yet, but it was the one "Mother Church," and at its head were those who had been Jesus' own chosen companions. Its opinion, therefore, carried unusual weight, and its strong inclination was to insist that every Gentile Christian must be circumcised and keep the law of Moses. This inclination was not the easier to forgo because it was based rather on prejudice than on reason, for most men cling to prejudice with peculiar tenacity. And there lay behind the prejudice the whole history of Judaism. Had ever a Gentile been admitted to the privilege of those that "knew the Lord" without becoming a Jew? On the other side there was only the argument and testimony of the two evangelists, for Paul had not yet the authority with which later Christian thought has naturally invested him. Two "returned Missionaries" asked the Church to change its mind! It is true that they were right and the common opinion wrong, but how great a Meekness had the Church to admit it! The whole account of the Fifteenth of Acts, and particularly the addresses of Peter and James, are a rare study in this virtue. Had such a temper ever prevailed in the history of Christendom—again it may be said—probably none of her divisions had been "inevitable."

Separated Churches

What, however, ought Paul and Barnabas to have done if the Church had refused their plea? While no such dilemma occurs in the New Testament,[1] there is evidence

[1] The separation of Christianity from Judaism is almost an instance. This seems now so natural as to have been inevitable, but it did not seem so to the first Christians. For a while Peter and his associates probably hoped gradually to permeate Judaism with Christianity and to win it entire for Jesus. Separation came by slow degrees (see the writer's article on "The Christian Conventicle in the New Testament" in the *London Quarterly Review*, for April, 1910). It was only complete on the withdrawal of the Christians from Jerusalem on the march of Titus. The arguments of the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews may be regarded as a justification of the division

what Paul's answer would have been. The vehemence of the "Judaizers'" relentless attack once overbore even Barnabas,[1] but Paul still faced them with a contradiction equal to their own. Alone he "resisted Cephas to the face." If he had been defeated at the Council at Jerusalem, would he have flinched? In later days there have been men who have honestly believed that the Church refused the truth. Ought the would-be reformer and his followers to submit, or ought they to persist in their witness even though at last this mean the division of the Church? Is schism—in its later sense of the division of the Church—ever justifiable? To this the various branches of the Church of Christ give different answers. Only one, however, is consonant with the doctrine of the individual stated above. Each man's ultimate responsibility is to God Himself; his final allegiance is not to the Church but to the Kingdom; the unity of any ministerial society is after all a secondary good. To divide the Church for any other reason than faithfulness to God is sin indeed; to forsake it for the paltry reasons of personal pique that frequently suffice to-day is a peculiarly mean sin; but it is still true that apostasy is worse than schism. In the schisms of the Church, large and small alike, there has usually been on both sides a failure of Meekness, and each side has with partial justice blamed the other, but, just as a meek Church may be driven to expel an individual sinner, so an entirely meek Christian might be driven to abandon an erring Church. He might not be able to escape the last calamity of the protestant. The instances of justifiable schism may be very few, but it is impossible to say that there are none. Yet to divide "the body of Christ" from any other motive than Meekness is to be Antichrist.

In a world of many Churches another consequence of

of a Church as well as of a nation (*cf.* pp. 331 f.), and probably seemed so to their first readers. Yet the parallel with later schisms is not quite complete. To later protestants the Church that they have left has still seemed Christian, though corrupt; Judaism to the early Christian seemed altogether to have rejected Christ (yet *cf.* Rom. xi. 26).

[1] Gal. ii. 13.

the principles of the New Testament ought perhaps to be named. No Christian can believe that God intends that His Church be permanently split into fragments. It is His will that there be one Spirit operative in Christendom, and unity of spirit slowly draws after it organic unity.[1] Sometimes the duty of a Christian will exhaust itself in the maintenance of the spirit of catholicity in the one Church to which he belongs. This is the utmost possible, for instance, so long as Churches are severed by differences that seem to them to be differences of principle. But the time may come when the patience of the saints, working miracles, reconciles the principles that have seemed so long diverse, and there may then be no valid reason why two Churches should remain apart. Yet their union will mean that each Church sacrifice something, and that the members of each forgo something that they love—something perhaps for which their fathers toiled or suffered. It may be a beloved use in worship, or a venerable method in government. It may be a building hallowed by a thousand memories of blessing. What shall a Christian then do? Normally his devotion is due to the Church in which he was born and to whose ministry he owes his own soul, but an epoch of the union of Churches is abnormal, and the austerity of the claims of the Kingdom still hold. The union of Christendom will only be possible as Churches learn that they too must be willing to "lose their lives" for Christ's sake. Loyalty even to the Church of one's salvation is secondary after all, or rather loyalty may discern that a loved Church's highest ministry is now to perish. The self-immolation which is the usual duty of families becomes then the extraordinary duty of Churches.[2] Probably every separated Church will furnish something of eternal value to the last Christian society, yet it is also true that one by one separated Churches will need to die for the Kingdom's sake.

[1] This does not necessarily mean that there is to be only one organism, for true societies are both several and one. In them a single organism underlies and unites the several organisms that are its parts.

[2] See p. 338.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. Seeming Exceptions to Patriarchal Prosperity and Leisure.—2. Social Doctrine and the Exodus.—3. Methods of Government in the Pre-Davidic Epoch.—4. The Use of אחז and its Derivatives in Pre-Exilic Documents.—5. Instances of Cruelty and Mercy in Monarchic Documents.—6. The Differentiation of Callings.—7. The Pre-Exilic Terminology of "Violence" and "Oppression."—8. The "Poor" in the Psalms.—9. The "Fulfilment" of the Four Primary Elements in Righteousness.—10. The Social Doctrine of the Apocalypse.

Note 1.—Seeming Exceptions to Patriarchal Prosperity and Leisure (pp. 7 ff.)

(*a*) The only suggestion of Patriarchal poverty is through the recurrent famines.[1] These befall at intervals in every country whose people depend solely upon its own harvest for food, and an inevitable question upon the lips of later Hebrews about the Patriarchs would be—But what when famine came? Did not Abraham, Isaac and Jacob ever feel its pinch? The answer is that, even when famine came, God saved them from its incidence.[2] Even when in the days of Jacob want came closest,[3] there is no hint that penury was really reached. The sons of Jacob have plenty of money for the purchase of grain,[4] and return from Egypt with laden sacks; they have a store of "the choice fruits of the land,"[5] and of beasts' "provender";[6] Jacob still has "flocks and herds";[7] the issue of the whole adventure is that for the five leanest of the famine years Israel sucks the abundance of Goshen. This is directly set over against the straits of the native Egyptians.[8] God secured the prosperity of the Patriarch.

(*b*) The only hint of Patriarchal toil is in Jacob's account of his life with Laban,[9] but this is not to be taken too literally. Besides, it was the shepherd's honourable work, not the task of the soil.[10]

Note 2.—Social Doctrine and the Exodus (pp. 25, 50).

(*a*) Hardly anything definite can be gathered about the social organisation of Israel in the Wilderness, and in it almost nothing was of permanent influence. It is indeed assumed that the Hebrews consisted of separate Tribes[11] and that they were organised under "elders."[12] Further, in one passage the terms "thousands," "hundreds," "fifties" and "tens" occur.[13] These naturally suit a military organisation,[14] but belong almost entirely to the later

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[1] Gen. xii., xxvi., xli. ff.
[2] Gen. xii. 16; xxvi. 12; xlvii. 27.
[3] Gen. xlii.
[4] *e.g.* xliii. 12.
[5] xliii. 11.
[6] xlii. 27.
[7] xlv. 10.
[8] xlvii. 13-27.
[9] xxxi. 40-42.
[10] See p. 8.
[11] *e.g.* Num. xvi. 1; xxxii. 1.
[12] Exod. iii. 16 *et sæpe.*
[13] Exod. xviii. 21, 25.
[14] *Cf.* 1 Sam. xxii. 7.

documents (though "thousand" is early used for "family").[1] They have no importance for social theory.

(*b*) The outstanding feature of the Wilderness' narrative in the earlier sources is the treatment of "the people" as a unit.[2] It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the stage is occupied by but three actors—Jehovah, Moses and "the people." The separate action of tribes or families or even of individuals is rare. It is continually "the people" as a whole who "hearken unto" or "murmur against" Moses. The Exodus is pictured as the "agony" of a hero with a race. It is not hastily to be assumed that this racial unity is unhistorical, for in the Wilderness some degree of unity was imperative.[3]

(*c*) The records assert, again, that Hebrew law began in the Wilderness. The formulation of the codes included in the Pentateuch—apart perhaps from the Decalogue—belongs to later times, for the phraseology of the earliest requires the agricultural epoch. But the tradition that Moses gave legal decisions is independent of them,[4] and it is impossible that a people maintain its unity without some kind of law. It is true that in primitive communities old custom serves instead of judicial statute, but, if the story of Israel's serfdom in Egypt be historical, her need for a great lawgiver follows, for the customs of a slave-race would be quite unequal to the vicissitude of the free life of the Desert. As preservation from outward attack demanded unity, so preservation from inward schism demanded law. It is sufficient, however, for the purpose of the present discussion that the character of Hebrew law in the days immediately before the Kings be discernible.[5]

Note 3.—Methods of Government in the Pre-Davidic Epoch (pp. 38 ff., 43 ff., 57, 129).

(*a*) The earlier documents have at least twenty-two terms for various kinds of ruler in the days between Moses and Samuel. Nine, however, occur for this period only in the early Songs.[6] A study of these, and especially of the way in which they alternate with each other, confirms the natural supposition that a poetic is not an exact use, and that nothing more can be deduced from them than that there were inevitably leaders in Israel as in other races.

(*b*) Seven other terms of the twenty-two are also negligible as rare and sporadic. Of these סרן is peculiar to the five "lords" of the Philistines,[7] elsewhere called "kings" or "princes";[8] שטר denotes a "subordinate officer,"[9] while פלילם[10] is not only a unique term but a doubtful reading.

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[1] *e.g.* in Judg. vi. 15.

[2] *e.g.* Exod. iv. 31; xii. 27; xiv. 10 ff.; xvii. 2 ff.; xix. 8; xxiv. 3; xxxii. 1; Numb. xi. 1.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 26 ff.

[4] Exod. xviii. 15 ff.

[5] See pp. 54 ff.

[6] אלוף in Exod. xv. 15; כריב in Num. xxi. 18; מחקק in Deut. xxxiii. 21; and six in the Song of Deborah—though two of these may not denote a ruler—מחקק again and חקק Judg. v. 9, 14; אדיר, vv. 13, 25; ספר, v. 14; רזן, v. 3; פרע (?) v. 2; פרזון (?) v. 7.

[7] Judg. xvi. 5 ff.; 1 Sam. v. 8, 11; vi. 4, 16.

[8] 1 Sam. xxi. 10; xxvii. 2; xxix. 3.

[9] So the "Oxford Hebrew Lexicon." The term occurs in Exod. v. 14, etc.; Num. xi. 16; and Josh. i. 10; iii. 2; xxiv. 1. The last three passages, however, are perhaps as late as Deuteronomy.

[10] Exod. xxi. 22.

The other four are all parallel to one or other of the terms that remain for discussion—אציל[1] to זקן;[2] נשיא to אלהים;[3] קצין[4] to ראש;[5] and נגיד[6] practically to מלך.[7]

(*c*) Of the remaining six terms "prince" (שר) does not necessarily connote royalty, though it may do so.[8] It is used as equivalent to "judge,"[9] and to "elder,"[10] of the Angel of Jehovah as Israel's war-lord,[11] of the Egyptian "taskmasters,"[12] of the chief "elders" of Moab under Balak,[13] of the Midianite chiefs Oreb and Zeeb,[14] of Abimelech's minion Zebul,[15] and in its corresponding verbal form of Abimelech himself.[16] Its indefiniteness is evident.

(*d*) Again, the term "head" (ראש) is vague and means no more than "leader." It is used, for instance, like "prince" (שר), as a title of Moses' assistant judges,[17] of the leaders of "the people,"[18] and four times in the story of Jephthah.[19]

(*e*) The term "king" (מלך) is very common. It is used of the Pharaoh,[20] of Edom,[21] of Moab,[22] of Ammon,[23] of Midian,[24] of Sihon,[25] and frequently of the Canaanites.[26] In fact it is used of every race but one—Israel. Common as the term is in the records, easily as most of the words denoting ruler pass into each other, this word never occurs of the Hebrews.[27] Even Deborah's Song, with all its license of terminology, reserves it for other races.[28] Besides, there is the express record "There was no king in Israel,"[29] and a series of passages in different indirect ways gives the same testimony.[30]

On the other hand, it is assumed that every city of any size[31] among the Canaanites had its own "king."[32] It goes without saying that such a congeries of tiny principalities was a constant cockpit, and that such kingship meant despotism and oppression, as the stories of Adoni-bezek[33] and Abimelech[34] show. But kingship meant constant readiness for war. After the days of Joshua, when war broke out the Israelite had his captain to seek, his enemy's was ready.[35]

(*f*) The records find it just as natural to speak of Israelite "elders" (זקנים)

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[1] Exod. xxiv. 11. [2] Exod. xxiv. 9. [3] Exod. xxii. 28.
[4] Josh. x. 24; Judg. xi. 6, 11. [5] Judg. xi. 11.
[6] 1 Sam. ix. 16; x. 1.
[7] 1 Sam. x. 16; xi. 12. The verb משל may also be mentioned (Judg. viii. 22 f.; ix. 2; xiv. 4; xv. 11.
[8] *Cf.* Exod. ii. 14. See p. 367. [9] Exod. xviii. 21 ff.
[10] Judg. viii. 6, 14. [11] Josh. v. 14, 15.
[12] שרי מסים, Exod. i. 11.
[13] Num. xxii. 8, 13, 15, *cf.* vv. 7, 18.
[14] Judg. vii. 25; viii. 3. [15] Judg. ix. 30.
[16] Judg. ix. 22, *cf.* 6. [17] Exod. xviii. 25.
[18] Num. xxv. 4; Deut. xxxiii. 5, 21.
[19] Judg. x. 18; xi. 8, 9, 11.
[20] Exod. iii. 18. [21] Num. xx. 14, 17,
[22] Num. xxii. 4. [23] Judg. xi. 12.
[24] Judg. viii. 5 ff. [25] Num. xxi. 21 f.
[26] *e.g.* Josh. ii. 2; viii. 1; x. 1, 3; Judg. i. 7; v. 19; ix. 6.
[27] It is used of Jehovah as Israel's king in two of the Songs (Num. xxiii. 21; Deut. xxxiii. 5). If the latter passage refers to Moses, as is unlikely, this is only one more instance of the laxity of these terms in the Songs. The terms of Num. xxiv. 7, 17, are held to make these passages post-Davidic.
[28] Judg. v. 3, 19.
[29] Judg. xvii. 6; xviii. 1; xix. 1; xxi. 25.
[30] *e.g.* Judg. viii. 22 f.; xi. 5 ff., 17; 1 Sam. ix. 16; x. 1, 16; xi. 3.
[31] *Cf.* Josh. x. 2.
[32] *e.g.* Josh. ii. 2; viii. 1; x. 3; Judg. i. 7.
[33] Judg. i. 7. [34] Judg. ix. [35] *Cf.* p. 87.

as of Canaanite "kings." The term, indeed, is used in one passage of Egypt,[1] in another of Moab and Midian [2] as equivalent to "princes," [3] and in a third of the Gibeonites,[4] perhaps in anticipation of their incorporation in Israel, but it is else confined for this period to the Hebrews. Of them it is used whenever a term for their natural representatives is needed.[5] Several of the passages require that the "elders" ranked next to Moses and Joshua before the settlement in Canaan, and that after it they were in time of peace supreme in their own area. Within Palestine the "elder" was as characteristic of Israel as the "king" of the Canaanites.

(*g*) Of the two remaining terms one is "judge," both verb and noun (שפט). It has often been remarked that it seems ill suited to describe the heroes of the Book of Judges. Some have tried to widen its meaning to embrace their exploits, but without reason,[6] for the word is not used of those exploits in the book itself, the significant term in describing them being "save." [7] But the verb "judge" is used as describing the activities of five of the six Minor Judges,[8] and of two of the Greater *apart from* their deliverance of Israel.[9] In all these cases the phrase So-and-so "judged Israel" is used without explanation as if it would be well understood and as if it were a normal thing. On the principle that it is the extraordinary that is described while the usual is assumed, the Book of Judges records Israel's deliverances but takes its "judges" for granted. Is there any hint what this "judging" meant?

(*h*) Outside this Book there are two others of whom the same phrase is used, Eli and Samuel.[10] It is true that the second passage is not from the earliest documents, but it is unlikely that either Eli or Samuel was called "judge" through warlike exploit, and the description of Samuel's circuit of judgement may suggest the right line of explanation. Cannot the word everywhere bear as natural a meaning?

(*i*) There is a series of passages in the Pentateuch that suggests that there were, so to say, two ranks of judges in Israel—the judges of ordinary cases, and of new and extraordinary. The leading passage is the story of Jethro's advice to Moses on seeing him sit "from the morning unto the evening to judge between a man and his neighbour." [11] There is also the parallel passage of the Seventy Elders,[12] and it may be taken as certain that what is stated of the second case was true of the first—the "rulers" [13] were chosen from among the "elders." [14] A little later there is a story in which the accounts of J and E are hardly consistently pieced together, but in the latter's record the verse occurs, "And [Moses] said unto the elders, Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you: and, behold, Aaron and Hur are with you: whosoever hath

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[1] Gen. l. 7.
[2] Num. xxii. 4, 7.
[3] Num. xxii. 8, 13, 15.
[4] Josh. ix. 11.
[5] In Exodus ten times, *e.g.* iii. 16; xix. 7; xxiv. 1; in Numbers five times, *e.g.* xi. 16 ff.; in Joshua three times, vii. 6; viii. 10; xxiv. 1; in Judges, six times of Gilead, Judg. xi. 5-11, and twice of Succoth, viii. 14, 16; and in 1 Sam. i.-xii. twice, iv. 3; xi. 3. *Cf.* Ruth iv. 2-11.
[6] *e.g.* the "Oxford Hebrew Lexicon" gives no support to the idea.
[7] הושיע, Judg. iii. 31; vi. 14 f. 31; vii. 2; viii. 22; x. 1; xii. 2 f.; xiii. 5; 1 Sam. iv. 3; ix. 16; xi. 3; *cf.* Josh. x. 6.
[8] Judg. x. 2, 3; xii. 8, 11, 13.
[9] Judg. iv. 4; xii. 7. It is used of a third, Samson (Judg. xv. 20; xvi. 31), but is then due to D. The use of the *noun* of these heroes is peculiar to D in this book (Judg. ii. 16-19).
[10] 1 Sam. iv. 18; vii. 6, 15-17.
[11] Exod. xviii. 13-27.
[12] Num. xi. 16 ff.
[13] Exod. xviii. 25.
[14] These are named just before in connexion with Jethro (Exod. xviii. 12).

a cause, let him come near unto them." [1] The last words are inconsistent [2] with an interpolation from J that follows, but fall in quite naturally with E's statement that Moses had just been addressing the people.[3] So read, the story tells that Moses arranged for the daily routine of judgement to continue *in both its parts* during his long absence on the Mount [4]—the elders were to settle ordinary cases as usual, while Aaron and Hur were to take his own place for extraordinary ones. Again, after the sin of Baal-peor Moses appeals to "the judges of Israel" to help him in expiating it.[5] So too, when, as the older account has it, Dathan and Abiram complain against Moses as judge,[6] "the elders of Israel" follow him when he announces their doom.[7] The history presupposes that in old time there were ordinary judges and a superior one. Can any such arrangement be traced later?

(*j*) In the period of the Monarchy it is assumed that the "elders" executed judgement,[8] while hard cases or those in which the offender was mighty were carried to the king.[9] Nor is it likely that at an earlier time every simple case awaited Samuel's circuit.[10] The "elders" would decide all cases that came under old precedent,[11] while difficult and especially unprecedented ones would be reserved for Samuel.[12] Again, Eli assumes that men brought their cases to Shiloh.[13] May it not be that these two and all others who "judged Israel" were the arbitrators of disputes that the "elders" could not settle? Voluntary appeal to the arbitration of a trusted "outsider" is quite the way of the East, as the "kadis" of Arabia witness.

(*k*) Eli's expression, "If one may sin against another, God shall judge him," introduces the last term of rule (אלהים). Here appears another feature of ancient lawgiving—that it was regarded as a divine decision—for this is one of the passages in which the Revisers hesitate between "God" and "judge" as translation of אלהים. The others are in the Book of the Covenant.[14] These passages suggest that legal questions were settled at a sanctuary, while the last of them definitely associates the "ruler" (נשיא) with "God." [15] But the elders, at least sometimes, sat in the gate for legal purposes,[16] while it has yet to be proved that *every* village and city had a sanctuary.[17] Is it not possible, then, that the judge of superior cases, as

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[1] Exod. xxiv. 14. [2] v. 9. [3] vv. 3-8.
[4] v. 18, E. [5] Num. xxv. 5.
[6] Num. xvi. 13-15. *Cf.* Driver's "Literature of the Old Testament," p. 64.
[7] v. 25.
[8] *e.g.* Deut. xix. 12; xxi. 2; Josh. xx. 4; *cf.* Ruth, iv. 2.
[9] *e.g.* 2 Sam. xii. 1 ff.; 1 Kings iii. 16 ff.; vii. 7; *cf.* Exod. ii. 14.
[10] 1 Sam. vii. 15 ff.
[11] *e.g.* Exod. xxi. 22.
[12] There would also be cases as between two villages, or between individuals from two villages, which would require an arbitrator from outside both (*cf.* Deut. xxi. 1 ff.).
[13] 1 Sam. ii. 25.
[14] Exod. xxi. 6; xxii. 8, 9, 28.
[15] This verse suggests the picture of the disappointed party in a case venting his wordy spleen upon the judge.
[16] Ruth iv. 1 f.; Deut. xxi. 19; Josh. xx. 4.
[17] On the contrary, Exod. xxxiv. 24 and 1 Sam. ii. 18 ff. require that in pre-Davidic times the Israelite sometimes went a long way to a shrine, while the histories suggest that there were a limited number of central sanctuaries at holy spots (*e.g.* Judg. xxi. 1; 1 Sam. i. 3; 1 Kings iii. 4; *cf.* Exod. xx. 24; 2 Kings iv. 23, 25). Driver quotes 2 Kings xvii. 9, 11; xxiii. 8; Exod. vi. 6 on the other side (Schweich Lecture, p. 60), but these passages are late and rhetorical. At the same time it is quite possible that, while there were a few great centres of pilgrimage, yet every village had its temple. This is so, for instance, in India to-day.

distinct from the "elders," was associated in the people's minds with God? This was certainly so with Moses,[1] with Aaron, with Eli,[2] and with Samuel.[3] Again, Eli and Samuel and the two Greater Judges who are said to have "judged" Israel, are all associated with sanctuaries.[4] Moreover, the Judges as deliverers were, like kings, reckoned as inspired of Jehovah.[5] What is more likely than that the Lord's saviour of Israel should add, as kings did,[6] the function of judging in peace to that of leading in war? This gives a natural consistency to the use of the term "judge" that cannot otherwise be obtained. A Judge seems to have been a man who was by common consent the usual arbitrator in a given district: his appointment would be informal and in spirit democratic; yet, as justice was associated in the people's thought with the decision of God, he must be an "influential" man, for in ancient thought such influence came from God. It might be based on successful leadership in war, or on the blessings of wealth and family,[7] for these too marked Jehovah's favour.[8] The needs of the time perhaps made the succession of such Judges almost continuous.

(*l*) The "judge" however still differed from the king, not only because his office was not hereditary, but because, like the "kadi," he could not enforce his decisions.[9] Their only sanctions were public opinion and religious awe. Eli and Samuel, for instance, had obviously no executive power to secure their judgements.[10] In the days of the Judges, save when such an outrage as that at Gibeah[11] roused all Israel, "every man did that which was right in his own eyes" because "there was no king in Israel."[12]

(*m*) On a review of the evidence, therefore, it seems probable that the eldership was the regular organ of government in Israel in this epoch, and that all other authority in time of peace was personal, local, temporary and incoercive. Exigencies of war called forth "deliverers," while any man of distinction might be a Judge if the Lord were with him. There were "heads" and leaders in Israel, as in all communities, but kingship, with its despotism, oppression, and spirit of aggrandisement,[13] was an abhorrence unto the Hebrews from the days when they escaped its sway in Egypt. Israel had no stomach for little Pharaohs of its own. As is *a priori* probable, its method of government halted for a while between the nomadic and monarchic.[14]

Note 4.—The Use of אהב (Love) and its Derivatives in Pre-Exilic Documents (pp. 104 ff.).

(*a*) The earliest and commonest use in reference to *family* love—for a wife, a child, etc., *e.g.* Gen. xxii. 2; xxix. 20; Judg. xiv. 16; 1 Sam. i. 5; Hos. iii. 1; Prov. xiii. 24; xv. 17. With this goes the case of a bondman's love for his master (Exod. xxi. 5; Deut. xv. 16).

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[1] *e.g.* Exod. xviii. 15, 16. [2] 1 Sam. ii. 25. [3] *e.g.* 1 Sam. ix. 6 ff.

[4] Judg. iv. 4 ff.; xi. 11, Deborah's palm probably marking a sacred tree. *Cf.* too Gideon's ephod (Judg. viii. 27).

[5] *e.g.* Hastings' "Bible Dictionary," art. "Religion of Israel," v. p. 659 (Kautzsch).

[6] 1 Sam. viii. 5—later source,

[7] Judg. x. 4; xii. 9, 14.

[8] See pp. 8, 34 f. The time when wickedness went with wealth was not yet.

[9] *Cf.* p. 45, and footnote 15, p. 363.

[10] *Cf.* 1 Sam. ii. 17. [11] Judg. xix.

[12] Judg. xvii. 6; xxi. 25.

[13] See pp. 106 ff., 130 ff., 170 ff. [14] *Cf.* p. 45.

(*b*) Love for a *friend, e.g.* 1 Sam. xvi. 21; xviii. 1; 2 Sam. i. 26; xix. 6; 1 Kings v. 1; Prov. ix. 8; xv. 12; xvii. 17; xviii. 24. 1 Sam. xviii. 16, 22 illustrates an extension of this. The nearest approach in this period to the idea of a general love of one's neighbour is in such texts as Prov. x. 12; Deut. x. 19; xv. 1-18. Prov. xxiv. 17 f.; xxv. 21 f. prepare the way for the love of an enemy.

(*c*) Of *God's love for man*:—
an individual, 2 Sam. xii. 24.
a class of men, Prov. iii. 12; xv. 9; Deut. x. 18.
the nation of Israel, 1 Kings x. 9; Hos. iii. 1; ix. 15; xi. 1, 4; xiv. 4; Deut. iv. 37; vii. 8, 13; x. 15; xxiii. 5; Jer. ii. 2; xxxi. 3.

(*d*) Of *Israel's love for God*:—
Judg. v. 31 (this instance stands alone in the early centuries and probably belongs to the archaic set of notions in which a god was thought of as his tribe's friend and all other tribes' foe).
Deut. v. 10 (Exod. xx. 6); vi. 5; vii. 9; x. 12; xi. 1, 13, 22; xiii. 3; xix. 9; xxx. 6, 16, 20.
Josh. xxii. 5 (D); xxiii. 11 (D); 1 Kings iii. 3 (Compiler).
Cf. e.g. Jer. ii. 25; viii. 2 (love of other gods).

(*e*) Of *the love of abstract qualities* (Righteousness, etc.):—
E.g. Ps. xlv. 7; lii. 3 f. (only cases of the term in Monarchic psalms); Prov. i. 22; iv. 6; viii. 19; xvii. 19, etc.; Am. v. 15; Mic. iii. 2, etc.

Note 5.—Instances of Cruelty and Mercy in Monarchic Documents (pp. 103 f., 140).

i. Cruelty and Severity	ii. Mercy
Historical Books	
1 Sam. xv. 3, 33.	
2 Sam. viii. 2; xii. 31; xxi. 1 ff.; 8 ff.; xxiv. 1 ff.	2 Sam. ii. 26 f.; vii. 15; xii. 6; xvi. 8 ff.; xxiv. 14 ff.
1 Kings xi. 15; xviii. 40; xx. 42.	1 Kings xx. 31 ff.; xxi. 29.
2 Kings i. 10 ff.; ii. 23 ff.; iii. 19, 25; v. 27; ix. 22 ff.; x. 16 ff.; xv. 16.	2 Kings i. 13 ff.; iv. 29 ff; v. 8 ff.; xx. 4 ff.
Prophets	
Amos iv. 2.	Amos i. 3–ii. 16; iv. 1 ff.; vii. 2 f., 5.
Hos. i. 6.	Hos. i. 7, 10 ff.; ii. 14 ff., 19 ff.; iv. 1; vi. 1 ff., 6; xi. 1, 4, 8 ff.; xiv. 3 ff.
	Mic. ii. 8 f.; vii. 18 f.
Isa. i. 28; ix. 8-10, 14; xvi. 13 f.; xxxiii. 1.	Is. i. 17, 23; ix. 19; x. 1; xv. 5; xvi. 3 ff., 9 ff.; xxx. 26; xxxii. 6 ff.
Nahum (whole book).	Hab. ii. 12-17.
Jer. iv. 4; vii. 20, 29; viii. 13 ff.; x. 25; xi. 11, 20; xii. 3; xiii. 14; xv. 6; xvii. 18; xviii. 21 ff.	Jer. iii. 12; iv. 19 ff.; v. 7, 18; viii. 18 ff.; ix. 24; xii. 15; xiv. 17; xxxi. 20; xxxii. 18.

i. Cruelty and Severity	ii. Mercy
Deuteronomy	
ii. 34; iv. 23 f.; vii. 2, 10; viii. 19 f.; xiii. 8; xiv. 15; xx. 16; xxii. 21 (*cf.* 19); xxv. 3, 17 ff.; xxviii. 15-68; xxix. 22 ff.; xxxii. 22.	i. 31; iv. 31; vii. 9 ff.; xx. 10 ff.; xxi. 10 ff.; xxiv. 10 ff.; xxv. 4; xxvii. 18 f.; xxx. 1 ff.
Josh. xxiii. 12 f. (D).	
Poetical Books	
Ps. ii. 4, 9; vii. 11 ff.; xviii. 37 ff.; xxi. 8 ff.; lii. 5 ff.; lviii. 10; lxiii. 9; lxxii. 9; ci. 5 ff.	Ps. xiii. 5; xviii. 25, 50; xxiii.; xxvii. 10; lii. 8; lxi. 7; lxii. 12; lxiii. 3; lxxii. 11 ff.; xci. 14 ff.; ci. 1.
	Prov. x. 12; xi. 17; xii. 10; xiv. 31; xv. 17; xx. 28; xxi. 21; xxiv. 17 ff.; xxv. 21 f.; xxviii. 8.
Lam. i. 13 ff., 18; ii. 1 ff., 20; iii. 10 ff.	Lam. i. 12; iii. 22, 31 ff., 34 ff.

Note 6.—The Differentiation of Callings Before and Under the Kings (pp. 106, 112, 120, 130).

(*a*) The following lists are probably incomplete in both columns, particularly for callings referred to rather than named, and of course there would be callings that do not chance even to be referred to in the extant documents—for instance, there would be potters in the villages before the Monarchy—but the general deductions made in the text are not upset by these qualifications.

(*b*) It will be noticed that several callings ultimately secular first evolved in connexion with the cult of religion, and it must be remembered that among ancient peoples all special skill was regarded as the gift of God.[1] Most of the distinct callings arose in connexion with the Monarchy and the City

i. Before the Kings	ii. The Monarchy
(*c*) *Religious Callings:* (i) Proper to Jahvism	
Levite and Priest (Exod. xix. 22; Jos. iii. 13; Judg. xvii. 7). Priests not Levitical (Judg. xvii. 5; 1 Sam. vii. 1).	Priest (1 Sam. xiv. 3, etc.; Deut. x. 8; 2 Kings xxiii. 4; xxv. 18—grade of priests). Non-Levitical priests (2 Sam. viii. 18; xx. 26,—*cf.* xv. 12; 1 Kings viii. 14; xiii. 33). Deut. v. 27 ff. shows the origin of priesthood.
Prophet or Seer (1 Sam. iii. 20; ix. 6 ff.; x. 10—showing how little specialised this yet was).	Prophet (1 Sam. x. 11 f., etc.; Isa. iii. 2; Deut. xiii. 1 ff.; xviii. 14 f.). Seer (2 Sam. xxiv. 11). "Sons of Prophets."
	Nazirite (Amos. ii. 11).
	Singers.[3] Minstrel (2 Kings iii, 15; *cf.* 1 Sam. x. 5).
Perhaps the Judge, the Founder, and the Cook.[2]	The "wise man" (? religious, but *cf.* Jer. xviii. 18, etc.).

[1] *Cf.* Isa. iii. 2 f.

[2] The judge's was a religious office before David (*e.g.* Exod. xviii. 21), but probably the judge then added this office to agricultural life (Additional Note 3). The founder first practised his art as a maker of σεβάσματα (Judg. xvii. 4), and probably only at "high places" would the cook's be at first a specialised calling (1 Sam. ix. 23). Some great Hindu temples have a sacred retinue of cooks. These three callings gradually became secular under the Kings (*cf.* *e* and *f*).

[3] 1 Kings x. 12. Music as a distinct calling evolved as auxiliary to religion.

i. Before the Kings	ii. The Monarchy
	(ii) Of Foreign Origin
Diviner (1 Sam. vi. 2). Witch.[1]	Soothsayer, diviner, enchanter, charmer, necromancer, wizard, witch, etc. (Isa. ii. 6; iii. 2 f.; viii. 19; Nah. iii. 4; Deut. xviii. 10 f.; Ezek. xiii. 17 ff., etc.)—always forbidden in Israel (Exod. xxii. 18; 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 9; Isa. ii. 6; xix. 3; Deut. viii. 10 ff.).
The sacred harlot (Num. xxv. 1 ff., etc.).	The sacred Sodomite and harlot (Deut. xxiii. 17 f.; 2 Kings xxiii. 7; Mic. i. 7; etc.).

(*d*) *War*

In early times every man was a soldier and the nation the army. This remained so in Israel,[2] but with the Monarchy began the "Standing Army," *i.e.* the separation of men whose *one* business was to fight. This Army was at first just the royal Bodyguard, but its numbers gradually grew. As it enlarged it needed a more elaborate organisation of officers, and these would naturally supplant the old local leaders when the whole nation mustered for war. Probably the old name survived sometimes when the office became specialised, but the following series of texts shows clearly the evolution and high status of the professional soldier.

Freebooter (Judg. ix. 4; xi. 3; 1 Sam. xxii. 2; xxv. 7; *cf.* 1 Kings xi. 23 f.). A justifiable calling, for the freebooter defended his countrymen's flocks from alien raid.[3]	(i) Bodyguard and Standing Army (1 Sam. xiii. 2; xiv. 52; xviii. 5; xxvi. 2, etc.); sometimes called "the king's servants" (1 Sam. xxi. 7; xxii. 9; 2 Sam. ii. 15; xi. 1; xx. 6; 1 Kings xxii. 3; 2 Kings xxiv. 11), though this term is used also of others and even of all a king's subjects; also called "the Guard" (1 Sam. xxii. 14; 2 Sam. xxiii. 23), or "the runners" (1 Sam. xxii. 17; 1 Kings xiv. 17; 2 Kings xi. 4 ff., etc.). The "host" was the national muster (2 Sam. viii. 16, etc.).
	(ii) Officers
Captain (only in Deborah's Song, Judg. v. 15; *cf.* Additional Note 3); probably not a specialised calling there.	Captain (שר) of the "host" (1 Sam. xiv. 50; 2 Sam. xxiv. 4). Captain of the Guard (1 Kings xiv. 27; 2 Kings xi. 4; xxv. 19). Captain over a thousand (1 Sam. xviii. 13). Captain of a hundred (1 Sam. xxii. 7). Captain of fifty (2 Kings i. 9; Isa. iii. 3).

[1] 1 Sam. xxviii. 3. It is not said that the Witch of Endor consulted Jehovah, and her phraseology suggests heathenism (1 Sam. xxviii. 13). Endor lay just where Israel touched the Gentile world most.

[2] 2 Kings xxv. 19.

[3] 1 Sam. xxv. 7, 15, 21. In later times, at least under strong kings, both justification and calling would pass, and the man who lived by his sword become Guardsman instead of brigand. There is no mention of Hebrew freebooters after David.

i. Before the Kings	ii. The Monarchy
	Captain of the ward or sentinels (Jer. xxxvii. 13).
	Captain of "bands," "chariots," etc. (2 Sam. iv. 2; 1 Kings xxii. 32; Jer. xl. 7).
	Captain *simpliciter* (2 Kings ix. 5).
	Another officer (שלישׁ—2 Kings ix. 25; x. 25, etc.).
	Muster-master, 2 Kings xxv. 19.

(iii) Various kinds of soldiers

Baggage-keeper (1 Sam. xvii. 22), but probably ordinary soldiers took this office by lot or in turns (*cf.* 1 Sam. xxx. 24 f.).	Footman (2 Kings xiii. 7; Jer. xii. 5), or "young man" (2 Sam. i. 15; ii. 14 ff.; iv. 12).
Footman (1 Sam. iv. 10), "young man" (Judg. ix. 54).	Horseman (1 Kings ix. 19; 2 Kings xiii. 7).
Archer (Judg. v. 11)—see other column.	Charioteer (1 Kings ix. 22; 2 Kings xiii. 7).
	Archer (Jer. iv. 29), but the bow belonged to common armour (2 Sam. ii. 4; xviii. 4), and perhaps only late did a separate *corps* of archers arise.
	Slinger (2 Kings iii. 25; *cf.* Judg. xx. 16), but the sling was the Hebrew hillman's daily weapon, and catapult would better suit the passage in Kings (*cf.* 1 Macc. vi. 51).
	"Breaker" or pioneer (?) (Mic. ii. 13; *cf.* 2 Kings xxv. 10).
Watchman (1 Sam. xiv. 16), but probably this office was not at first specialised.	Watchman and porter (? ordinary soldiers—2 Sam. xviii. 24, 28, etc.).
Armour-bearer (Judg. ix. 54), but he would relapse into agriculture with his captain at the war's end.	Armour-bearer (1 Sam. xiv. 1, 7; 2 Sam. xxiii. 37).
	The ordinary Guardsman was termed a "runner" (see (i) above; *cf.* 2 Sam. xv. 1), but the Guard also contained individual doughties, "gibborim" (2 Sam. xxiii. 8 ff.; 1 Kings i. 8; Is. iii. 2), though the term could be used of any able soldier (Judg. vi. 12; 2 Sam. x. 7)—*cf.* אדירים (Judg. v. 13; Nah. ii. 6). Many of the Guard were foreign mercenaries—"Pelethites," "Cherethites," "Carians" (2 Sam. viii. 18; 2 Kings xi. 4; *cf.* 2 Sam, xxiii. 39; Jer. xlvi. 21).

(*e*) *The Court* (Civil Officers—for Military see *d*)

(i) Officers of the Household

	Eunuch—often influential, though less so in Israel than elsewhere (1 Kings xxii. 9; 2 Kings viii. 6; xxiii. 11; Jer. xxxiv. 19; xxxviii. 7).
	Comptroller of Household (1 Kings iv. 6; xviii. 3; 2 Kings x. 5; xviii. 18; Is. xxii. 15); but see below.[1]
	Victual-officers (1 Kings iv. 5, 7).
	Keeper of wardrobe (2 Kings xxii. 14).
cf. Exod. ii. 7.	Tutors of royal children (2 Kings x. 1, 5); *cf.* nurse in royal house (2 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Kings xi. 2).

[1] Sometimes also an administrator (2 Kings xv. 15; Isa. xxii. 15, 21).

i. Before the Kings | ii. The Monarchy

(ii) Officials of government and administration

Counsellor (2 Sam. xv. 12; Isa. i. 26; iii. 3); "king's friend" (2 Sam. xv. 37; 1 Kings iv. 5; *cf.* 2 Kings vii. 2; x. 11); "they that see the king's face" (2 Kings xxv. 19; Jer. lii. 25); "king's servant" (2 Kings xxii. 12); "honourable man" (Isa. iii. 3; ix. 15; 2 Kings vi. 32). *Cf.* the king's Seer (2 Sam. xxiv. 11).

The Judges and Elders of pre-Monarchic times were not really officials (*cf.* c, and Additional Note 3).

Judges (2 Sam. xv. 4; Isa. i. 26; iii. 2; x. 1 f.; Amos ii. 3; Mic. v. 1; *cf.* Isa. xxviii. 14), the king himself being supreme judge (2 Sam. xii. 1 ff.; xiv. 4 ff.; 1 Kings iii. 16 ff.).

Governor of Capital (1 Kings xxii. 26; 2 Kings x 5). Other cities were usually still ruled by elders, though these were now responsible to the king (1 Sam. xxx. 26; 1 Kings xxi. 8).

Deputy, or governor of tributaries (1 Kings xxii. 47; *cf.* 2 Kings xxv. 22). Another deputy (2 Kings xv. 5).

Levy-master (2 Sam. xx. 24; 1 Kings v. 16).

Chronicler (2 Sam. viii. 16; 2 Kings xviii. 18).

Scribe or secretary (2 Sam. viii. 17; 2 Kings xviii. 18; *cf.* Prov. xxv. 1; Isa. x. 1).

Keeper of caravanserai (? an official—Jer. li. 59).

cf. 1 Sam. iv. 12 (a soldier).

Post (Jer. li. 31; *cf.* 2 Sam. xviii. 19 ff.).

(*f*) *Handicraft and Art*

Smith (1 Sam. xiii. 19; 2 Kings xxiv. 14; *cf.* 1 Sam. viii. 12).

Carpenter (2 Sam. v. 11—foreign; 2 Kings xii. 11[7]; xxii. 6; *cf.* 2 Kings vi. 5).

Mason (2 Sam. v. 11—foreign; 2 Kings xii. 11; xxii. 6; *cf.* 1 Kings v. 17).

Quarryman (1 Kings v. 15, 17).

Builder (2 Kings xii. 11; xxii. 6; *cf.* 2 Kings xx. 20; Isa. xix. 10—foreign).

Woodcutter (1 Kings v. 15, 18).

Overlooker (2 Kings xii. 11).

Judg. xvii. 4 (*cf.* c).

Carver and engraver (2 Kings xxiv. 14; Isa. iii. 3; Deut. xxvii. 18; Hab. ii. 18).

Founder—probably, at least at first, this craft went with the carver's or "craftsman's"—(Prov. xxv. 4; Jer. li. 17; *cf.* 1 Kings vii. 46; Hos. xiii. 2; Deut. xxvii. 15; Heb. ii. 18).

Refiner (Isa. i. 25; Jer. vi. 29).

Brass-worker (1 Kings vii. 14—of foreign origin).

Potter (Isa. xxix. 16; Jer. xviii. 2; Ps. ii. 9).

cf. Judg. xvi. 13—originally women's work.

Weaver (1 Sam. xvii. 7; Isa. xix. 9—foreign; *cf.* 2 Kings xxiii. 7).

Fuller (2 Kings xviii. 17; Isa. vii. 3—*cf.* i. 25 mg.).

i. Before the Kings	ii. The Monarchy
1 Sam ix. 23 (*cf.* *c*).	Baker, cook (Hos. vii. 4; 1 Sam. viii. 13—women; *cf.* 2 Sam xiii. 6 ff.; Jer. xxxvii. 21).
	Perfumer (1 Sam viii. 13—women).
	Singer and musician (*cf.* *c*; 2 Sam. xix. 35—both sexes; 1 Kings x. 12; *cf.* 1 Sam. xvi. 16, 23; Amos v. 23).
	Wailer (Amos v. 16; Jer. ix. 17 f.—women).
	Scholar (?, Isa. xxix. 11; *cf.* scribe under *e*).
	Surgeon (?, Ezek. xxx. 21).
	Coolie (?, probably the *fellahin* impressed for the "levy," 1 Kings v. 15).
	Servile and semi-servile callings—
cf. Exod. v. 7 etc.	Brickmaker (2 Sam. xii. 31).
cf. Josh ix. 21 ff.	Hewer of wood and drawer of water (Deut. xxix. 11)—but probably these were the ordinary hirelings on the farms.

(*g*) *Agriculture and the Chase*

Of the following few would, at least for long, be separate callings; rather, as the normal calling of the Hebrews was agriculture, they would be exercised, both before and during the Monarchy, by every farmer and his men as occasion demanded, though no doubt a man skilful at a particular task would have it allotted him—*cf.* 2 Kings xxv. 12. For combination of callings *cf.* 1 Sam. xxi. 7, 18; Amos vii. 14. For husbandman, as contrasted with city-dweller, *cf.* Amos v. 16, etc.

(i) Shepherd (1 Sam. xvii. 20; xxv. 7; Amos i. 2; *cf.* 1 Sam. xvi. 11).
Herdman (1 Sam. xxi. 7; Amos i. 1; *cf.* 1 Kings xviii. 5).
Shearer (1 Sam. xxv. 7).
Ploughman (Jer. xiv. 4).
Pruner (Amos vii. 14; 2 Kings xxv. 12; *cf.* Deut. xxviii. 39).
Grape-gatherer (Jer. vi. 9; xlix. 9); vintner (*cf.* Jer. xlviii. 12).
Harvester (Isa. xvii. 5; Jer. ix. 22).
Fanner (Jer. li. 2 mg.).
(ii) Fowler (Hos. ix. 8; Jer. v. 26; Prov. vi. 5).
Fisher (Isa. xix. 8; Jer. xvi. 16).
Hunter (Jer. xvi. 16).

(*h*) *Trade and Banking*

Merchant—several terms, but usually of foreigners, —(1 Kings x. 15, 28; Hos. xii. 7; Isa. xxiii. 2-18; Nah. iii. 16; Zeph. i. 11; *cf.* Prov. iii. 14).
Money-lender (? Isa. xvi. 4). Apart from this one use of a peculiar term, money-lending is implied in such passages as 2 Kings iv. 1; Deut. xxiii. 19 f.; Jer. xv. 10—*cf.* 1 Sam. xxii. 2; Amos ii. 8; Deut. xv. 2, 6; xxiv. 6, 10 ff.; xxviii.

cf. Exod. xxii. 25 ff.

i. Before the Kings	ii. The Monarchy
	12; Prov. xxviii. 8—but none of these texts necessarily implies that money-lending was a separate calling.
	N.B.—The foreign sailor is named in connexion with trade (1 Kings ix. 27), but this calling never became usual in Israel (*cf.* 1 Kings xxii. 48 f.). Ezek. xxvii. describes a whole series of artisans employed in Tyrian shipbuilding.

Note 7.—Pre-Exilic Terminology of Social "Violence" and "Oppression" (p. 133).

Hebrew Root	i. Pre-Davidic Uses	ii. Uses under the Kings
	(*a*) *Common Terms*	
גזל (seize)	Gen. xxi. 25; xxxi. 31. Judg. ix. 25; xxi. 23.	Isa. iii. 14; x. 2; Mic. ii. 2; iii. 2; Jer. xxi. 12; xxii. 3; Deut. xxviii. 29, 31; Prov. xxii. 22; xxviii. 24; Ps. lxii. 10.
חמס (violence)	Gen. xvi. 5; xlix. 5. Exod. xxiii. 1; Judg. ix. 24.	Amos iii. 10; vi. 3; Mic. vi. 12; Heb. i. 2 f.; ii. 8, 17; Zeph. i. 9; iii. 4; Jer. vi. 7; xiii. 22; xx. 8; xxii. 3; Deut. xix. 16; Prov. iii. 31; iv. 17; x. 6, 11; xiii. 2; xvi. 29; Ps. vii. 16; xviii. 48 (2 Sam. xxii. 3, 49); xxvii. 12; lv. 9; lviii. 2; lxxii. 14.
עשק (extort)		Amos iv. 1; Hos. v. 11; xii. 7; Mic. ii. 2; Isa. xxiii. 12; xxx. 12; Jer. vi. 6; vii. 6; xxi. 12; xxii. 17; Deut. xxiv. 14; xxviii. 29; 1 Sam. xii. 3 f. (D); Prov. xiv. 31; xxii. 16; xxviii. 3, 16; Ps. lxii. 10; lxxii. 4.
שדד (spoil)		Amos iii. 10; Hos. x. 4 (?); xii. 1; Hab. i. 3; ii. 17; Jer. vi. 7; xx. 8; Prov. xi. 3; xix. 26; xxi. 7; xxiv. 2, 15.
	(*b*) *Rarer Terms*	
רכא (crush)		Isa. iii. 15; Prov. xxii. 22.
ינה (maltreat)	Exod. xxii. 21.	Deut. xxiii. 16; Zeph. iii. 1; Jer. xxii. 3; xxv. 38 (?).
רמס (trample)		Isa. xvi. 4.
רצץ (crush)		Amos iv. 1; Hos. v. 11; Jer. xxii. 17. 1 Sam. xii. 3 f. (D).
		[Of national disaster in Deut. xxviii. 33; Judg. x. 8 (D).]

(*c*) *Words only occasionally applied to Social Wrongs*

Hebrew Root	i. Usual application	Applied to Social Questions: ii. pre-Davidic period	Applied to Social Questions: iii. Monarchy
לחץ (squeeze)	Of a national "oppression."		1 Kings xxii. 27; Ps lvi. 1.
ערץ (terrify)	Of war (in Isaiah and Deuteronomic School).		Prov. xi. 16; Ps. liv. 5.
נגש (exact)	Of taskwork and taxation.		Isa. iii. 5, 12; ix. 4; Deut. xv. 2 f.
צוק constrain)	Of invasion and siege.		1 Sam. xxii. 2; Prov. i. 27.

N.B.—(i) צרר, denoting "straits," seems never to be used directly of social "wrongs" but always of "trouble," personal or national.

(ii) ענה, denoting "affliction" is used in social reference in Gen. xvi. 6; xxxi. 42, 50; Exod. xxii. 21 f., and the cognate adjectives (ענו, עני) are frequently used of the "poor" as "afflicted" by the rich—*e.g.* Amos ii. 7; viii. 4; Isa. iii. 14 f.; x. 2; Prov. xxii. 22; and Additional Note 8. *Cf.* p. 132 f.

Note 8.—The "Poor" in the Psalms (p. 200).

In the Psalms assigned to the Monarchy there are many appeals by the individual writers to God for aid,[1] but, while the appeal is made on the ground of trouble, it is not made on the specific ground of poverty. The following is a conspectus of the times the four principal Hebrew terms for "poor" are used in the Psalter:

Hebrew Term	i. Times used in Monarchic Psalms	ii. In post-Monarchic
אביון	2 (Ps. lxxii. 12 f.).	22
דל	1 (Ps. lxxii. 13).	4
עני	4 (Ps xviii. 28; lxxii. 2, 4, 12).	24
ענו	1 (Ps. lxxvi. 9).	10
Totals	8	60

An examination of the eight passages in the Monarchic Psalms where the terms occur shows that none of them illustrates the particular point in question in Chapter Four,—the poor man's own appeal to God. It is true that the Psalms that take this attitude are sometimes on that very ground referred to a post-Monarchic date, but this is not the only ground. Six of the eight Monarchic passages belong to a single Psalm, the Seventy-Second. The change from the "outsider's" point of view to the "insider's" appears at once if this Psalm be compared, for example, with Ps. x.

[1] *Cf.* p. 115; *e.g.* Pss. iii., vii., xiii., xviii.

Note 9.—The "Fulfilment" of the Four Primary Elements in Righteousness (p. 234).

(*a*) While in the New Testament "Righteousness" has other constituents beside the four primary in the Old, it includes them and enriches their meaning. This has already been seen for justice.[1] In the New Testament it is perfected, for it carries even the last detail of conduct to the exact decision of the bar of God—"Whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of the hell of fire."[2] In the perfect realm none will ever do another so small an injustice as a hasty word.

(*b*) There is a similar enlargement of the scope of truth. Deceit is only the most blatant abuse of the subtle tool of speech, but for its every abuse each man's final responsibility is to God.[3] Beyond its abuses lie its uses. The Christian society illustrates them by taking preaching as a chief weapon in its attack upon the world.[4] Their mastery is so rare and signal that St James counts it a token of perfection.[5] Jesus could be called the "Word" of God.[6] Some degree of sincerity is essential to all societies,[7] but its full boons will only appear in the perfect one. Jesus once said, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall emancipate you."[8] It is impossible to foresee the immense social gain that would accrue if every member in a society made a proper and exact use of speech—not only without deceit or exaggeration, but without reserve. Such use would, of course, be perilous except in a perfect society, but the most useful tool is often the most dangerous. Or again, the men of science and of art, ministers of truth, are but beginning to find the magnificence of their vocation.

(*c*) Of mercy Meekness is just the extension, or rather the more careful definition. The Christian thinks it merciful, not only to help the suffering, but to seek to restore in every man the image of God.[9] So mercy is still the servant of justice.[10] Its full aim bids men not only build hospitals but despatch Missionaries; it makes not a bit of life but the whole its sphere. And, as spiritually every man is in perpetual need of his brother's help, in the perfect society mercy ceases to be patronage and becomes mutual.

(*d*) The development in the theory of peace is not dissimilar to that of truth. It had of old been primarily a negative thing, but Meekness makes it positive, for Meekness *is* aggressive peace. The Beatitude is not "Blessed are the peace-keepers" but the "peace-makers." The New Testament tells of the first campaign of the "Prince of Peace." Christianity wins its way by

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[1] See pp. 247, 291. *E.g.* Matt. x. 15; xii. 36, 41 f.; 2 Thess. i. 5; Gals. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 10; Rom. ii. 5 f.; 2 Tim. iv. 8; Jas. ii. 13; v. 8-11; Rev. xvi. 5-7; xviii. 20; John xvi. 11.

[2] Matt. v. 22; *cf.* xii. 36.

[3] *e.g.* Matt. xxiii. 16-22; Acts v. 4, 9; 2 Thess, ii. 10-13; 2 Cor. i. 12; iv. 2 f.; ix. 11 mg.; Rom. ii. 8; Phil. i. 10; Col. iii. 9; Jas. i. 7 f.; John iii. 21; xvii. 17; 1 John i. 6.

[4] For other uses *cf.* 2 Cor. viii. 2 mg.; Eph. iv. 15; 2 Tim. ii. 15 f.; Jas. i. 18; John xvii. 17; 1 John v. 20.

[5] Jas. iii. 2. [6] John i. 1.

[7] *Cf.* Johnson's saying, "Without truth there must be a dissolution of society. . . . I remember this remark of Sir Thomas Browne's, 'Do the devils lie? No; for then Hell could not subsist'" (Boswell's "Johnson," year 1778).

[8] John viii. 32; *cf.* also Eph. iv. 29; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Jas. iii. 2-12.

[9] *e.g.* Mark ii. 5-12; Matt. vi. 15; ix. 35–x. 1; 2 Cor. i. 3; Phil. ii. 1-4; Eph. ii. 4 f.; John v. 14.

[10] *Cf.* p. 139. Mercy is always secondary to Righteousness in New Testament—*e.g.* Matt. xiii. 41-3; xviii. 17; 2 Cor. ix. 9 f.; Jas. ii. 13; Rev. xxi. 27.

this its distinctive kind of propaganda ; [1] it looks to conquer by peace. The stages of the Biblical evolution of this quality may readily be distinguished—Peace by Isolation (Abraham), Peace by Extermination (Joshua), Peace by Coercion (Solomon), Peace by Consent (Isaiah), Peace by Meekness (Jesus). The last issues in the final and universal peace of a common Spirit. This, again, means that peace among men has its root in each man's peace with God.[2]

Note 10.—The Social Doctrine of the Apocalypse (pp. 232, 279).

(*a*) The exposition of the details of the Book of the Revelation has not at present reached the exactness attained for its fellow Apocalypse, the Book of Daniel. It cannot, therefore, be used as fully as it ought in the elucidation of the teaching of the New Testament. Like the Book of Daniel, however, it is a symbolic philosophy of history, and, although its primary application was to the author's own world, yet its broad principles have a wider scope. They bear a distinctively social character, and the chief of them may be tentatively and briefly distinguished. They do not conflict with the sociology of the rest of the New Testament, but here and there they supplement it.

(*b*) The Apocalypse shares with the whole Bible the axiom of Providence—that history is under the government of God. This belief indeed underlies and explains all Apocalyptic literature. Further, in both the Apocalypses within the Canon, and in most outside it, God waits quietly omnipotent while His agents do His will. The Christian Apocalypse has its own token of the ease of His omnipotence. The breaking of Seals, the blowing of Trumpets, the emptying of Vials, are all easy,—yet under them this writer symbolises the struggling story of man. Francis Thompson has a fit simile—

> "The innocent moon, that nothing does but shine,
> Moves all the labouring surges of the world."

That the breaking of the Seals is declared impossible to any creature [3] only enhances the sense of Divine ease.

(*c*) Here the distinction of the Christian Apocalypse appears—the meek Lamb easily opens the Seals. Most of the agents of God's providence in the Book of the Revelation are "angels"—though the "two witnesses" [4] seem to be men, and the Four Living Creatures also are *media* of His power—but above all these and separate from them is the Lamb. Sometimes He too, like God, stands aloof from the struggles that make human history, yet all the while He is "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," and all the while the reader feels that He directs the fray on the side of Righteousness. As stated above,[5] the true subject of the Apocalypse is a war between a Lamb and a wild Beast in which the Lamb prevails. While the figure was peculiarly apt to the struggle between the early Church and Rome, it embodies also the general Christian truth of the triumph of Meekness in society.[6]

(*d*) Yet the word "struggle" does not quite suit the ruling notion of the Apocalypse, for it suggests a doubtful issue. The writer, despite the tyranny

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[1] *e.g.* Matt. xxvi. 52 ; Luke x. 5 ff. ; 1 Thess. v. 23 ; Col. iii. 15 mg. ; 2 Tim. ii. 23 ff. ; John xvi. 33 ; xviii. 36.

[2] *e.g.* Luke ii. 14 ; 2 Thess. iii. 16 ; 1 Cor. xiv. 33 ; Eph. ii. 15-22 ; Jas. iii. 17 f. ; iv. 1 ff. ; Heb. vii. 2 ; John xiv. 27.

[3] Rev. v. 3. [4] Rev. xi. [5] See p. 279.

[6] *Cf.* Rev. i. 9 ; vii. 17 ; xii. 11 ; xiii. 10 ; xvii. 14.

of his symbolism, never really admits that there is a struggle. From the first the ultimate doom of the wicked is assumed. This author really thinks of history as discipline. For him the evils that afflict the world serve to distinguish the men who side with God from those that side against Him. The two Marks—of the Lamb [1] and the Wild Beast [2]—are only the most obvious illustration of a constant idea. History is God's severe test of men.

Its discipline is more or less coercive. The figures of War, of Famine, of Death, for instance, appear once and again. Their terrors are a Divine coercion.[3] There is coercion, too, in the Christ's discipline of the Churches of the first three Chapters. Providence, that is, is the primary instance of the legitimate use of force in an imperfect world. The Apocalypse, acknowledging in history a "divinity that shapes our ends," illustrates and justifies the "accommodational" use of force.

(*e*) Though the main subject of the Apocalypse is a world-process, it does not therefore ignore individualism. While history as a whole is no doubtful struggle, for the individual it is just this, and its issue for him depends on his own choice. Whenever final doom is named, the citizens of "Heaven" and the denizens of "Hell," in so far as they are men, are always groups of individuals. Nowhere does a man meet a particular destiny merely because he belongs to a given race or other society. Alongside the book's keen interest in world-movements there lies a clear recognition that each man's life decides his own fate.[4]

(*f*) Again, in the Apocalypse history is a process that culminates in the Kingdom of God. Its last two chapters have been beloved of distressed Christians in all ages just because they tell of the sure dawn after the night. And the picture of the New Jerusalem agrees with the universal theory of the Bible that wealth is the retinue of holiness, and that every good thing will find its place in the final bliss. Babylon's prostitution of the world's riches gives way to their dedication in the bejewelled City of God.[5]

(*g*) In the story of the world meanwhile the writer seems to distinguish two stages. In the first the wicked dominate the good, the latter maintaining only an invincible Meekness ; [6] in the second, while there are still wicked men in the world, the good rule them. The first period was of immediate interest to the writer, since his days fell in it, and most of his book displays its strife and horror, but he has many a hint of the coming sway of the saints,[7] and at last he introduces the famous "millennium" wherein they are to "reign with Christ." [8] The vision of the Apocalypse, that is, beginning at the tyranny of Rome, yet peered into the future beyond her fall, and in that future the writer foresaw that there would be a prolonged period in which the wicked, though surviving, would be weaker than the good, and so evil would be chained. The millennial passage teaches that within that period the good will rightly use coercion against the evil.[9] If now the symbolism be interpreted, is it not true that in a sense Christ already reigns—that a long period wherein the good predominate has followed the era of the Church's persecutions, that the

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[1] Rev. vii. 3.

[2] Rev. xiii. 16.

[3] It is difficult to believe that these are merely symbols of other things. But if war be literally meant, the direct assertion is gained that it may sometimes be righteous (Rev. xix. 11-16).

[4] *e.g.* Rev. vii. ; xiv. 9 f. ; xx. 13 ; xxii. 11, 17.

[5] Rev. xviii. 11 ff. ; xxi. 24 ff.

[6] *Cf.* 2 Thess. ii. 3 f.

[7] *e.g.* Rev. i. 9 ; ii. 7, 27 ; ix. 4 ; xi. 5 ; xii. 5 ; xiv. 1 ff. ; xviii. 20 ; xix. 7.

[8] Rev. xx. 1-6 ; *cf.* xix. 11 ff.

[9] *Cf.* Rev. xii. 5 ; 1 Cor. xv. 25, 28.

present centuries form part of it, and that within it the honest coerce the dishonest, the truthful the liar, the pure the impure, the good the bad? Here is a symbolic vindication of the Christian State,[1] and—since it is a mistake to insist upon a solitary application of principle—not only of the Christian State, but of all governments that according to the possibilities of their time have furthered "Righteousness." It seems to the writer that the true exegesis of this controverted paragraph must include this truth. If so, the Apocalypse illustrates both the resistance of individuals to an unrighteous State,[2] and the coercion of unrighteous individuals by the State.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 324 ff.

[2] *Cf.* p. 331.

INDEX OF SCRIPTURE REFERENCES

EXPLANATION OF METHOD OF INDEXING

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